ALASKKKA - The Invisible Empire in the Last Frontier
A Look into the 1920s Klan of the North

1st Edition

Compiled, edited, and written by;
Elizabeth Kell & Kevin Allen, 2025

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This First Edition of the Paper is Dedicated to John Gasper

This paper is a culmination of late night calls, frantic emails, a layer of our own secrecy, hours of loss sleep, going cross-eyed over microfiche, and many walks around town.

Thank you so much to everyone who supported us in our mad dash to get this *first edition* out in time for the 100 years since the Juneau KKK charter was signed. Special thanks to those near and far who took interest and helped us connect the dots, moreover provided more items of interest to look at; especially Dr. John Kneebone and his colleagues at VCU for their kindness and wisdom, Dr. Miguel Hernandez in Wales for helping with some incredible scans, and a heartfelt thanks to Dr. Michael Livingston here in our own backyard in Alaska for his encouragement, understanding, and assistance. Additional shoutout to Anchorage Historian, David Reamer for our initial Zoom call, review of our "conspiracy board", and advice at the very beginning of our descent into madness.

Thank you everyone who took our emails and our calls, receiving those messages back was a definite highlight in this journey.

Especially our Beta readers too; friends and family. We look forward to catching up with everyone and others soon enough on the topics at hand.

We do hope this helps shed some light on the topic, and that more materials may come to the surface; I look forward to the future conversations and presentations to be had.

Gunalchéesh a<u>x</u> een yéi jeeneiyí!

GLOSSARY

This list of terms is an adapted list originally compiled by Miguel Hernandez for his 2014 thesis *Fighting Fraternities: The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920s America*, in which he cites *The Klanman's Manual* (Atlanta: Ku Klux Klan Press, 1924). A few other terms have been added by us, extrapolated from *The Constitution and Laws of the Ku Klux Klan* (Atlanta: Ku Klux Klan Press, 1921), the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, *Kloran: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*, 5th ed. (W. J. Simmons, 1925), and the *Ku Klux Klan, Crown Point, Indiana (Lake County) Records, 1913–1932* (Indiana Historical Society, 2004).[1]

K.K.K. - Ku Klux Klan
Domain - A Collection of Realms with the Invisible Empire
Emperor - Spiritual and Fraternal head of the Ku Klux Klan
Exalted Cyclops - Head of a Local Klan Chapter
Grand Dragon - Executive Leader of a Realm
Imperial Palace - National Headquarters of the Klan
Imperial Wizard - National Executive head of the Ku Klux Klan
Invisible Empire - Alternative name for the Ku Klux Klan, mostly used in rituals
King Kleagle - Chief salesman and promoter of the Klan within a Realm
Klabee - Treasurer of a Klan Chapter
Kladd - The conductor of the ritual within a Klavern
Klaliff - Vice-President of the Klavern
Klannishness - Term for the Klan's brand of Fraternalism
Klarogo - Inner guard of the Klavern
Klavern - an individual chapter of the Ku Klux Klan and a term for their meeting rooms
Kleagle - Klan's sales and marketing officer
Klexter - Outer Guard of the Klavern
Kligrapp - Secretary of the klavern
Klokann - An investigator, responsible for inquiring into specific matters within the Organization
Klokard - lecturer of the order
Kludd - Chaplain of the Klavern
Night Hawk - Security Officers, Pseudo Police
Kloran - The handbook of the Ku Klux Klan, where rituals and laws are written to be followed.
Province - A subdivision of Realms, composed of a group of countier
Realm - A term referring to individual states within the Ku Klux Klan (i.e. the Realm of Alaska)

As noted by Hernandez, The Ku Klux Klan had an exceedingly complex nomenclature.

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[1] Miguel Hernandez, *Fighting Fraternities: The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920s America* (Master's thesis, 2014); *The Klanman's Manual* (Atlanta: Ku Klux Klan Press, 1924); *The Constitution and Laws of the Ku Klux Klan* (Atlanta: Ku Klux Klan Press, 1921); Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, archival materials; W. J. Simmons, *Kloran: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*, 5th ed. (1925); *Ku Klux Klan, Crown Point, Indiana (Lake County) Records, 1913–1932* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 2004).

INTRO

When discussing hate groups in North America, few evoke as immediate and visceral a reaction as the Ku Klux Klan. Often regarded as a symbol of radical white supremacist ideology, the Klan is widely associated with the American South; its white hoods, burning crosses, and Confederate flags have become enduring emblems of racial hatred and extremist nationalism. While many assume the Klan's influence was confined to Southern states, the reality is far more expansive and troubling. During its resurgence in the 1920s, the Ku Klux Klan extended its reach well beyond its traditional strongholds, gaining footholds in states such as Idaho, Washington, and, most infamously, Oregon. Surprisingly, and often overlooked in historical discourse, the Klan's influence even reached into America's most remote and rugged territory: Alaska, the so-called Last Frontier. Where explicitly and implicitly attempted (and possibly in some areas succeed) to influence race relations, politics, and community organizations.

HISTORY OF THE KLAN - BACKGROUND

The Klu Klux Klan, also known as the KKK, is an American Protestant-Led Christian Extremist, white supremacist, far-right hate group. As discussed in Sara Bullard's *The Ku Klux Klan: A History of Racism and Violence* (1998) that the Klan is considered, "one of the nation's first terrorist groups."[2] Founded in 1865, during the Reconstruction era, originally set up as just a confederate veterans "Good Ole Boys" drinking group; soon activities went from reminiscing about the war and complaining about the recent freedoms newly freed slaves were experiencing to acts of direct terror and violence toward Black families.

In 1867, meeting in Nashville, Tennessee, the first Klan activists tried to create a hierarchical organization with local chapters that would, in their hope, report to a national headquarters or larger overarching body. The first Klan however remained as highly independent chapters and at that time never reached that higher level of organization. A prescript was developed by former Confederate brigadier general, Geogre Gordon, while former confederate general Nathan B. Forrest was elected as the group's first GRAND wizard.[3] Both were vehemently racist towards Blacks, as well as harbored hate towards carpetbaggers and white Southerners that were for positive changes of reconstruction they called "scalawags". Despite again trying to create more unified chapters there was no real adoption of

[2] Sara Bullard, *The Ku Klux Klan: A History of Racism and Violence* (Montgomery, AL: Southern Poverty Law Center, 1998)
[3] Information on early Klan leadership and organizational attempts summarized from standard Reconstruction-era Klan histories

overarching practices, code of conduct, and in-fighting was common in local chapters. As highlighted by historian Elaine Frantz Parsons for her paper *Midnight Rangers: Costume and Performance in the Reconstruction Era of the Ku Klux Klan* (2005),

"Lifting the Klan mask revealed a chaotic multitude of anti-Black vigilante groups, disgruntled poor white farmers, wartime guerrilla bands, displaced Democratic politicians, illegal whiskey distillers, coercive moral reformers, sadists, rapists, white workmen fearful of Black competition, employers trying to enforce labor discipline, common thieves, neighbors with decades-old grudges, and even a few freedmen and white Republicans who allied with Democratic whites or had criminal agendas of their own. Indeed, all they had in common, besides being overwhelmingly white, southern, and Democratic, was that they were called, Klansmen."[4]

Despite glaring interpersonal issues and other non conformity by the end of the Reconstruction Era the Klan had left it's mark in striking fear into their communities as well as carrying numerous cruel attacks that aimed to curb economic advancement, voting rights, education, and even the right to bear arms of Black people. Practically every Southern state had an attack carried out by the Klan, many ending in needless death.[5]

It is also at the point I would like to touch on how the original Klan was also key in attempting to destabilize Republican leaders, of all colours and creeds, and at this point more often than not aligned with the Democratic Party. This to a completely modern audience may seem odd but, at this point in time the Party lines were quite different then they are post 1950.[6]

BIRTH OF A NATION

In 1915 a silent film hits theatres in a way none other had at this time. Directed by D.W. Griffith and Starring Lillian Gish, *Birth of a Nation*, originally "The Clansman", premieres at the Loring Opera House in California on January 1st of 1915. By its second showing the next day the theatre was sold out and folks were even turned away! The following month 3,000 people would line up to see its Los Angeles premiere, and then it'd go on to be the first movie ever shown in the White House.[7]

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[4] Elaine Frantz Parsons, "Midnight Rangers: Costume and Performance in the Reconstruction-Era Ku Klux Klan," *Journal of American History* 92, no. 3 (2005): 811–836;
[5] Bullard, *The Ku Klux Klan*, 1998
[6] For political alignments of the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction period, see Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988)
[7] Melvyn Stokes, *D. W. Griffith's The Birth of a Nation: A History of the Most Controversial Motion Picture of All Time* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 45–48.

The film itself portrays the Ku Klux Klan Knights in a positive heroic light while Black characters are portrayed as unintelligent and violently lustful towards white women. It's the knights of the KKK who must save the "purity" of these women from black characters, portrayed by white actors in Black face.[8] Unfortunately the film was widely popular and remains one of the highest grossing films of all time. Despite it seemingly being well accepted it did have its critics, even before its release.

Black leaders with the NAACP (National Association of the Advancement of Colored People) wanted it banned in Boston on the basis that it could inspire racial violence.[9] The state of Ohio would ban the film outright across the state while other bans were more local as the cities/municipalities of Pittsburg, Denver, Chicago, Minneapolis, and even St. Louis would limit and or deny its release in their communities.[10] Of course these controversies only made the film even more sought after.

A Harvard paper released in 2021 found that in the 606 counties in the United States that showed the film, "on average, lynchings in a county rose fivefold in the month after the film arrived."[11] The United States also saw a general associated sharp spike in lynchings and race riots between 1915 and 1920… The film didn't just reflect racist ideas, it directly fueled them, helping spark a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan; It's official second wave.

Even way up in Juneau Alaska "the coloured people of Juneau" prompted a suppression order that then Governor Riggs would issue in 1918 for the State of Alaska and the City of Juneau.[12] Although going through numerous Alaskan papers most don't report on this order and the film then still finds itself advertised at Theatres across the state.

Governor Riggs writes in his Diary on October 9th of 1918, between reports of combating the new Spanish Flu,

"At request of the negro population of Juneau, instructed the marshall to prohibit the showing of the film 'Birth of a Nation'. Grateful lot of darkies. Issued proclamation for 'Liberty Day'"[13] Mayor Valentine of Juneau, would also make his own decree that the movie was not to be shown in the capital city.

Despite him banning the Film, when combing through Alaskan Newspapers of back in the day the film still comes up often and the suppression order doesn't get much publicity. But even before the Colored people of Juneau and others came together to petition in Alaska, the word of the film does reach Alaskan ears back in 1915, at least in Cordova; where on August 19th, 1915 after recently seeing the film in Seattle. The editor of the Cordova newspaper includes an extensive editorial arguing against the

[8] *The Birth of a Nation.* Directed by D. W. Griffith. United States: Epoch Producing Corp., 1915.
[9] Dickson D. Bruce Jr., "The NAACP and the Campaign Against *The Birth of a Nation*," *Journal of American History* 60, no. 1 (1973): 103–108.
[10] Dickson D. Bruce Jr., "The NAACP and the Campaign Against *The Birth of a Nation*," *Journal of American History* 60, no. 1 (1973): 103–108.
[11] "How a Racist Film Helped the Ku Klux Klan Grow for Generations," *The Economist*, March 7, 2021
[12] Governor Riggs Bars *Birth of a Nation*, *The Alaska Daily Empire*, October 10, 1918
[13] Thomas Riggs, *Diary*, October 9, 1918, Alaska State Archives

censorship of the film.[14] He contends that public figures and social groups are inevitably portrayed unfavorably at times, yet audiences generally understand that such depictions are not accurate reflections of reality. To illustrate his point, he constructs several intentionally exaggerated hypothetical scenarios, featuring individuals with red hair, or those who are bald or overweight, to demonstrate the absurdity of censoring a work simply because it caricatures certain traits or behaviors. His rhetoric functions as a kind of 1915 analogue to contemporary claims that critics of such portrayals are merely "unable to take a joke" or that concerns about representation amount to making "comedy illegal."

Using the same resources the rough series of events I can construct occurring in the later years is that it does make it to interior Alaska with specifically an R. G. Barnum as the film's distributor/Alaskan rights holder sometime in August of 1918. August 27th its first official advertisement in Alaska debuts in the *Nenana Daily News*.[15] There it is more than well received with even one article saying, "It was certainly the biggest attraction of its kind ever seen by people of Interior Alaska, and much applause greeted a great many of the scenes thrown on the screen during the course of the play." The same paper when advertising would praise how many of the actors in the film themselves came from Southern/Confederate lineage the days prior publication. The Nenana paper also runs a full review by N. Y. Presbyterian Reverend, Charles H. Pankhurst, whom gives a glowing review and recommendation that everyone to understand that time, especially those too young to know/remember, should sit through this 3 hour epic. His review touches ever so briefly on, "the criticism that it exhibits the Negro in an unfortunate light." Making a claim that other *Birth of a Nation* apologists would, that it obviously doesn't represent "the Negro of today" and truly just shows how far they've come since reconstruction. "when he had just had the chains broken from him, and when he was rioting in the deliciousness of a liberty, so new and untried, that he had not yet learned to understand it and was ignorant as a baby of the way to use it. It is in this respect exactly true to history and if it reflects upon the Negro as he was then it is a complement to the black man of today."[16] This positive spin wholly leaves out any mention of the KKK and violence brought by them in this picture, or in real life.

Before the film is brought to Fairbanks, the *Weekly Alaskan Citizen* there, on September 2nd would run its own article outlining the plots and again praising its new found film techniques and utter shock and awe it can have on those historically inclined.[17] Unlike the previous articles in Nenana this one doesn't fully omit the Klan's presence, but doesn't refer to them as Klansmen nor the KKK but, "ghostly crusaders of a terrible era to once more set things aright and return the lands and liberties of peace to to their rightful owners." This Fairbanks paper also tries to say that again recently freed Black people were

[14] Editorial, *Cordova Daily Times*, August 19, 1915
[15] *Nenana Daily News.* The Birth of a Nation Advertisement and Review. Nenana, Alaska, August 27, 1918.
[16] Charles H. Pankhurst, Review of *The Birth of a Nation*, *Nenana Daily News*, Nenana, Alaska, August 27, 1918.
[17] *Weekly Alaskan Citizen. The Birth of a Nation* in Fairbanks. Fairbanks, Alaska, September 2, 1918.

just led down the wrong path by others, such as "Scalawags" who were using them for fortune, as they did not know how to react to being free.

September 3rd it's written in the paper that, "R. G. Barnum, Thomas Aberson, and D. C. Fairman, who are travelling with the moving pictures 'Intolerance' and 'The Birth of a Nation', left this morning for Fairbanks, where they will show these remarkable pictures!"[18] According to the Fairbanks Notes section of the *Nenana Daily News* "Packed houses greeted the first appearance of the pictures."[19] and would be continued to be sold out for the rest of its showings there.

While the picture is in Fairbanks, Rev. Robt. Joseph Diven D. D. Minister of the Grace (Presbyterian) Church in Nenana lists to give a Sunday evening Lecture on "The Birth of a Nation" and "Intolerance"

September 9th is the last showing of these Films at Thorne's in Fairbanks where they report that "every performance has been greeted with a full house."

The film makes it to McCarthy by September 14th where it is shown at their local Arctic Brotherhood (or A. B.) Hall and promoted with the exhortation that "Every Patriotic American should see it."[20] In a somewhat curious editorial choice, the *McCarthy Weekly News* offered narrative details for Intolerance in its initial coverage, but for *The Birth of a Nation* limited itself to production statistics; such as total cost, number of actors, and the quantity of horses employed. It is also the advertisement in this paper that we will see *Birth of a Nation* marketed directly using the tag line "The Triumph of the Ku Klux Klan"[21] for the first time in Alaskan publications. This is different from Cordova using the alternative tag line, "The Eight Wonder of the World" when it's advertised to play the Empress Theatre in Cordova on September 20th and 21st.

The Cordova Daily Times' "For Film Fans" section shares some facts about the cost of the film, how they worked to create accurate reconstructions of cities on fire, real civil war battles, and the Ford's theatre. In the middle of these "fun" facts is that, "A series of wild Ku-Klux rides that commandeered a county for a day and cost $10,000. Women's dresses used 25,000 yards and Ku-Klux costumes 12,000 yards of cloth."[22]

As the show closes on the 21st, it's reported on the 23rd that the showings of these films were so successful that they will be shown again in about 3 weeks back in Cordova.[23]

September 27th the Skagway edition of *the Daily Alaskan* chooses to repost an article coming out of Yakima, Washington about "The Colored People's Welfare league" protesting to have the movie banned

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[18] *Nenana Daily News.* R. G. Barnum, Thomas Aberson, and D. C. Fairman Travel to Fairbanks with Films. Nenana, Alaska, September 3, 1918.
[19] *Nenana Daily News*, Nenana, Alaska, September 6, 1918.
[20] *The McCarthy Weekly News*, "At the A. B. Hall tonight," McCarthy, Alaska, September 14, 1918.
[21] *McCarthy Weekly*, McCarthy, Alaska, September 14, 1918.
[22] *Cordova Daily Times*, "For Film Fans," Cordova, Alaska, September 20, 1918.
[23] *Cordova Daily Times*, Cordova, Alaska, September 23, 1918.

by the City. They object, “on the ground that it is not educational, but excites race antipathies; that it is an attempt to glorify secession at the expense of the Union, and that it encourages friction and discredits the morals of the colored citizen.”[24] So far in our research this is the only Alaskan paper that reprints this article at the time.

October comes and “The men who have the tour of Alaska in charge”, Barnum and Amberson, have arrived in Seward and the town anticipates the movie times and dates to drop by the end of the day on the 2nd.[25] Also noted that the Seward papers say these films are too well known to need any further special mentions. Apparently it will be a one night only show in Seward and again, aside from naming the book it's based on, there is no real mention of the glorification of the KKK, but just how generally glorious and important it is to see this movie.

By the 8th of that month *the Daily Alaskan Empire* in Juneau reports
“Initiated by the colored people of Juneau, approximately one hundred citizens, including all of the colored residents who have been seen, have signed a protest, against the ‘Birth of a Nation.’ The petition was presented to Mayor Valentine and to the Governor, and a copy furnished The Empire with the request that it be published.”[26] The Coliseum announced that same day that it had secured the rights to exhibit the film in Juneau in the near future. Just one page later, however, the *Daily Alaskan Empire* published a letter arguing forcefully that the film should be banned. The authors urged that “all lovers of America should frown sincerely upon it [the film], for America needs the hearty cooperation, the undivided allegiance, the united efforts of every race beneath the Flag.”[27] They further acknowledged the financial burden that canceling the exhibition would impose on the theater and even offered to contribute funds to offset the cost. By October 10, it was formally reported in the Juneau papers that *The Birth of a Nation* had been prohibited from being shown both in Juneau and, more broadly, throughout Alaska. The Full article is as follows,

“United States Marshal J. M. Tanner yesterday issued an order to all deputies in the First Division to notify theatres that the production of ‘The Birth of a Nation’ would not be allowed. This is the direct result of a petition circulated by colored residents of Alaska and signed by the colored folks and a number of other citizens. Mayor Valentine also notified the local theatres against its production and in explanation thereof said: ‘The object of the prohibition and the reason therefore, is that the picture tends to produce class hatred and is humiliating to many of our citizens. It is our desire to elevate and not degrade any of our citizens and the colored people of our city should be held in highest regard for the self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of the Nation.’ The Marshal's order was based on a request from the Governor’s

[24] *Daily Alaskan*, Skagway, Alaska, September 27, 1918, reprinting article from Yakima, Washington.
[25] *The Seward Daily Gateway*, *The Birth of Nation*, Seward, Alaska, October 2, 1918.
[26] *Alaska Daily Empire*,“Protest is Made Against Showing ‘Birth Of Nation.”, Juneau, Alaska, October 8, 1918.
[27] *Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, October 8, 1918.

office."[28]

As mentioned earlier this declaration would unfortunately not see much wide re-publication in the state, and at this point the films had already been shown to hundreds in Interior Alaska and other spots along the upper coast. Barnum and his wife leave Cordova for Juneau on the 15th and seemingly have no idea about the order given, or possibly don't care, as the *Cordova Daily Times* is excited to say that Barnum and his wife plan on returning to Cordova in the spring![29]

The Coliseum in Juneau concedes to only being able to show "Intolerance" although "Birth of a Nation" is mentioned as "the greatest educational and historical picture ever produced."

In late October R. G. Barnum is interviewed by the Alaska Daily Empire about how much he's enjoyed his time in Alaska and hopes one day to return and stay in the Territory. Says he "Likes the country"[30] and he is very reluctant to leave, and upon his return he wonders if he'll be able to strike it rich. As far as we can tell, he never returns to Alaska.

The Empire takes out an advertisement on the 26th of November with a Klansman on a Horse, holding a flaming cross with the text in large over top, "COMING! COMING!" emphasizing to see tomorrow's newspaper for the announcement.[31]

[28] *Alaska Daily Empire*, "Issues An Order Against Production", Juneau, Alaska, October 10, 1918.
[29] *The Cordova Times*, Cordova, Alaska, October 15, 1918
[30] *Alaska Daily Empire*, "Barnum Says to Stay in Alaska is Best Plan", Juneau, Alaska, October 24, 1918.
[31] *Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, November 26, 1918.

November 27th, 1918, readers of the *Daily Alaska Empire* in Juneau are greeted to a nearly full page advertisement for *Birth of a Nation* to play the Coliseum. It comes with a sketch of a Klansman sitting comfortably atop a white horse, next to a white woman looking wistfully into the middle distance on her own horse, as other Klansmen loom in the background. The image is surrounded by glowing reviews of the film by others around the country. Boasts of how many people and horses were involved. Bold text says its "The opportunity of a Lifetime!" And "Don't Miss it!" dwarfed by this grand ad, just below it is a small article for why *Birth of a Nation* is Allowed to proceed,

"In response to the colored people, backed by many prominent white residents, the production of the 'Birth of a Nation' was forbidden by the Mayor and Governor, as a war measure. The colored folks of Alaska have been among the most liberal to support the war, with money, men and work. There was no legal procedure by which the production could be stopped. and the executive right to stop the production ceased with the ending of the war."[32] declaring that since World War 1 had ended that this suppression order no longer could be upheld.

By the 29th another glowing review hits the Juneau papers discussing the important historical value this film provides, with its "accurate" portrayals of the times. Mentioned then at the end is "The activities of the Ku Klux Klan forms another interesting sidelight into those stirring times."[33] W. D. Gross, the manager of the Coliseum Theatre (and to whom the current Gross Alaska theatre stems from) announces on the 4th of December how he's making sure every person in Juneau has the opportunity to see Birth of a Nation and Intolerance by buying the rights to the pictures special for two extra days. By buying the rights, even if temporarily, this relieves the original price tag that Barnum had to sell tickets under for no less than a dollar. Up to this point, advertisements across Alaska had consistently listed admission at $1.00 for standard tickets, $1.50 for reserved or special seating, and approximately 35–50 cents for children. In contemporary terms, these prices were roughly equivalent to $25–31. These special reduced price shows would be shown that Friday and Saturday. The same page of the paper has an ad for the last chance to see the "World's Greatest Two Pictures" with reduced prices below a dollar. "These prices were accomplished only by the management purchasing the pictures for the two days".[34]

[32] *Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, November 26, 1918.
[33] *Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, November 28, 1918.
[34] *Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, December 4, 1918.

The rest of the week they hype up the film that, “No two pictures will ever again be produced that will embody so much educational and historical fact in them, and yet be so thrilling and interesting in their stories.”[35]

The movie would then have a brief stint on the Douglas side of the Gastineau Channel at the Liberty Theatre. Wm Ott, owner and manager of the Liberty will only show the movie for two nights, “after which other high class features will be put on.”[36] We do know from the Douglas section of the Alaskan Empire that they had a large turn out and many look forward to seeing it’s last showing before it moved on. Aside from this, without more access to Douglas papers we don’t know much about how else it was received on the island.

December 18th arrives with a note in the paper about Mr. and Mrs. R. G. Barnum and T. H. Amberson coming to Ketchikan with the films. It’s in this small article they say that the Dream theatre in Ketchikan has had the film booked since October and now had been delayed due to Governor Rigg’s Suppression Order, which they were met with in Juneau, and the party being caught up in the growing FLU pandemic. It is also then mentioned that, “This order was prompted by the colored people of Juneau but the matter was taken to the Attorney General of the U.S. by Mr. Barnum.”[37] The Ketchikan Dream Theatre plays it anyways in a limited release.Then the group, with the film, leaves south for Prince Rupert on December 21st.[38]

[35] *Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, December 6, 1918.
[36] *Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, December 9, 1918.
[37] *The Daily Progressive-Miner*, Ketchikan, Alaska, December 18, 1918.
[38] *The Daily Progressive-Miner*, Ketchikan, Alaska, December 21, 1918.

COLISEUM

THURSDAY, FRIDAY and SATURDAY
Matinees Thursday and Saturday

"BIRTH OF A NATION."
(Truth in Every Line.)

And it is well worth all that it has cost. As an educator its value is well nigh inconceivable, and its chief value in this direction lies in its truthfulness. That the story as told by the pictures is true I am ready to swear on the Bible.

I know it is true, because I lived through the actual realities themselves. I saw the real carpet-baggers, the real "New Voters," the real reconstruction "Statesmen," the real Ku-Klux Klansmen. I knew the real Stoneman, the real Lynch, the real Cameronn, and was a living part of the stupendous tragedy, watching it with wondering eyes and bated breath from its inception under the Stonemans and Lynches to its cessation under the invisible blows of the Ku-Klux Klan.

I am prepared to say that not one of the more than five thousand pictures that go to make up the wonderful drama is in any essential way an exaggeration. They are one and all faithful to historic fact, so that looking upon them, you may feel that you are beholding that which actually happened.

Regarding the educational value of the great photo play, no one who sees it can be the least bit sectional.

It is a spectacle that makes you think and feel.

If you want to realize how closely between wrong and its punishment, and how rigidly the connection is then see the play. What a small thing it seemed to those Virginia pioneers when they bought those twenty negroes from the mercenary Dutchmen and made slaves of them. Little did they realize what they were doing.

(The Aftermath.)

There would have been no war between the North and South, no mangling of the fair sons of North and South, no reconstruction, no Ku-Klux horrors, no half century of sorrow and hate, had North and South never put that devil Slavery in the Cradle of Liberty.

And this amazing drama shows us how great Abraham Lincoln was in his his spirit of love and justice.

—REV. THOS. B. GREGORY.

D. W. GRIFFITH'S
MIGHTIEST SPECTACLE EVER PRODUCED

EIGHTEEN THOUSAND PEOPLE
THREE THOUSAND HORSES
COST $500,000.00

From Governor Johnson of California, in the Farthest West, who described it as "the most glorious accomplishment in any art I have ever seen," to the National Congress (U. S. Senate and House of Representatives), twenty-one members of which have sent voluntary letters of enthusiastic commendation, "The Birth of a Nation" has been voted not only the greatest motion picture ever shown, but the most extraordinary and wonderful artistic conquest since the birth of civilization.

C. ?. Zittel, "New York Evening Journal."

. . . worth $1.00 a seat to see "The Birth of a Nation." First of all, children must be sent to see this masterpiece. Any parent who neglects this advice is committing an educational offense, for no film ever produced has more (Excellent) points than Griffith's latest achievement. . . . . "The Birth of a Nation" will thrill you, startle you, make you hold on to your seats. It will make you laugh. It will make you cry. It will make you angry. It will make you glad. It will make you hate. It will make you love. It is not only worth riding miles to see, but it is worth walking miles to see.

Richard Harding Davis, War Correspondent.

It is like real war. For the first time in a theatre a battle scene has been presented as it actually is.

Burns Mantle, "Evening Mail."

The mind falters and the typewriter balks before an attempt to either measure or describe D. W. Griffiths crowning achievement in screen drama, "The Birth of a Nation," . . . . . The pictures are wonderful, and there is an element of excitement that last night swept a sophisticated audience like a prairie fire.

Booth Tarkington, Eminent Novelist

One of those great artistic things that will make everybody thrill, touch and cry. It will take the whole country by storm.

The Greatest Picture Ever Produced

The Eighth Wonder of the World

Every American Should See this Masterpiece

SPECIAL PRICES, NIGHTS — Adults $1.00; Children 30c; Loges $1.50

Night performances at 8:15, doors open at 7:00 p. m.

MATINEE — Adults, 75c; Children 25c, Loges $1.00 (includes war tax)

Matinee performances at 2:30, doors open at 1:30 p. m.

The Opportunity of a Lifetime! Don't Miss It!

Klan Expansion to the Pacific Northwest - Luther Powell

Similar to progressive movements, negative ones can also come and go in waves. Riding on the success of exposing thousands to the "Heroic White Knights" as seen in Birth of a Nation, the Klan saw its official second wave. When thinking of this, of course, we mainly imagine the terror they caused in the South alongside imagery of Confederate flags and other Southern white ideals but, However, like the film itself, which found audiences across the country, including in remote areas like Alaska; the Klan's influence extended far beyond the Mason-Dixon line; Namely Washington and Oregon, who both were victims of the Second wave of the Klan.[39]

January 1921, Ku Klux Klan recruiter Luther Powell stepped off a Southern Pacific train in Medford, Oregon. In Medford he made a series of appointments to meet with church pastors, community leaders, and members of local fraternal organizations. According to an article from the Oregon Public Broadcast, he used these meetings as a way to feel out what issues were plaguing the community, specifically plaguing the *white* community.[40] During this period, parts of the Pacific Northwest still exhibited characteristics of a loosely regulated frontier region in some aspects. The region still saw significant movement of transient laborers, some heading north toward remaining mining prospects in Alaska and Canada, others circulating through coastal communities in Alaska, British Columbia, Washington, and California where fishing and canning industries were expanding. According to Powell the topics he saw come up, again and again, in the communities he visited were concerns about bootlegging, general lawlessness, and resentment of Catholics.[41]

It was during this same period that the Catholic Church in America was expanding westward and into Alaska, establishing new churches, white and Indian schools, and numerous full-sized hospitals.[42] In many respects, these institutions contributed to greater social stability and community organization in regions that otherwise lacked consistent civic infrastructure. However, many Protestant Americans viewed this expansion with suspicion. Influenced by longstanding nativist rhetoric, they believed that Catholics were ultimately answerable to the Pope and therefore feared that papal authority, and by extension, foreign influence from Rome, posed a threat to American political and cultural autonomy.

Powell would feed on these insecurities and use them to outline his recruitment process for the KKK in Oregon. One group he often targeted for recruitment was Fraternal Organizations, such as the Masons, who already had anti Catholic views. He passed out Klan flyers and arranged public lectures with those

[39] Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 45–50.
[40] Oregon Public Broadcasting, "How the Ku Klux Klan Took Root in the Pacific Northwest," January 2021, https://www.opb.org/news/article/kkk-pacific-northwest-history/
[41] OPB, "How the Ku Klux Klan Took Root in the Pacific Northwest," January 2021
[42] MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry,* 50–52

who would speak on Klan topics and or promote further support of Klan efforts. Reportedly one of his speakers on roster was an "escaped nun" who would share her scandalous story of being held as a captive by the church and shared their secret agendas to ruin America.[43]

Twenty-five men immediately signed up and soon the official first KKK chapter in Oregon was formed in Medford. Many historians of Oregon argue that this movement constituted a foundational factor shaping the state's enduring racial homogeneity and its deeply rooted history of racism.[44]

A running theme one will see when doing research on the Klan of the 1920s, especially in the Pacific Northwest, is spotted accounts due to lacking documentation. Often items like photographs were kept secret by families and those who would go underground with their racist views and activities. In the Klan's own paperwork, some versions of the *Kloran* included explicit warnings: "The Book MUST not be kept or carried where any person of the 'Alien' world may chance to become acquainted with its sacred contents as such. Its secret MUST be held secure by you and the prescribed 'Secret work' must not be used except when under official direction and in a legitimate manner."[45] A 1923 newspaper estimated at one point that Oregon's membership reached 58,000 members across the state, and we do know they had at least 50 established chapters. As discussed in the article, *A look back at how white supremacists sowed seeds of hate in Oregon in the 20th century* by Kami Horton for Oregon Public Broadcasting;

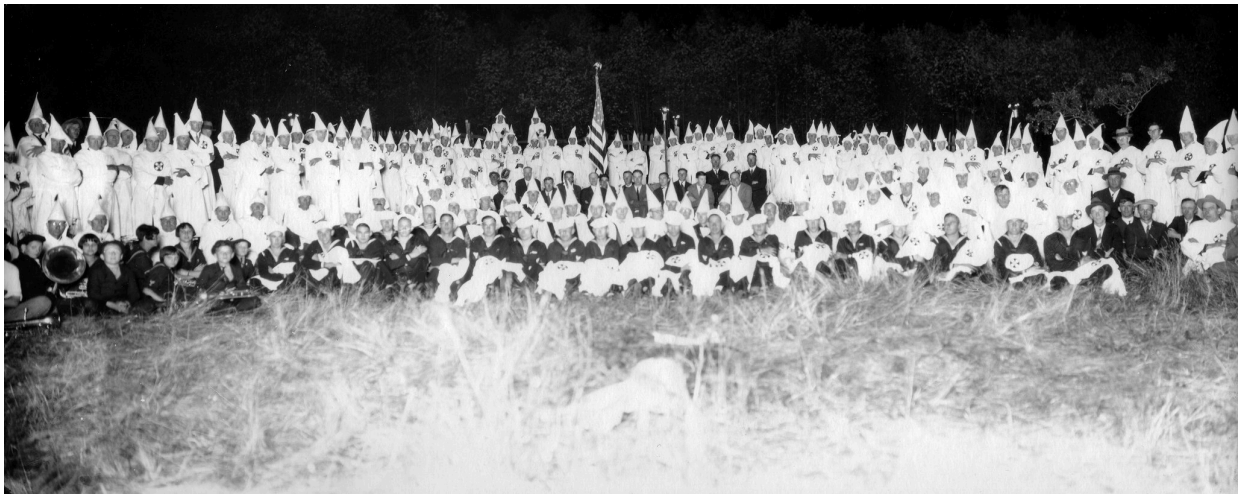
"The exact membership numbers are hard to track down. There are no official records. Historians can only guess based on the few documents and records that remain … Ohio and Indiana were both listed as having about 300,000 members. The same paper totaled the Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Texas membership counts at around 200,000 each. Numbers like these were often exaggerated. Regardless of the official counts, there's no denying the Klan was once a powerful presence in Oregon and across the country."[46]

[43] Oregon Public Broadcasting, "A Look Back at How White Supremacists Sowed Seeds of Hate in Oregon in the 20th Century."
[44] Oregon Public Broadcasting, "A Look Back at How White Supremacists Sowed Seeds of Hate in Oregon in the 20th Century."
[45] W. J. Simmons, *Kloran: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*, 5th ed. (Atlanta: W. J. Simmons, 1925), 12
[46] Oregon Public Broadcasting, "A Look Back at How White Supremacists Sowed Seeds of Hate in Oregon in the 20th Century."

(Unnamed Klansman somewhere in the Pacific Northwest, 1923)

Sometime in 1922 Luther Powell would establish some type of headquarters in Washington state and continue to spread his reach across the Pacific Northwest as the official King Kleagle of this "realm".[47] Despite setting up shop extremely successfully in Oregon, he lost against Fred Gifford in a race to be leader of the Oregon Klan. After this loss he moved to Seattle and would begin to organize new chapters in Washington and Idaho. As part of this effort, Powell founded and edited the weekly Klan publication *The Watcher on the Tower*.[48] (Notably, in reviewing the personal diaries of Alaska Territorial Governor Thomas Riggs from 1921-1922, there is mention of a "writer named Powell" dining with local politician, businessman, and boat captain Cash Cole.[49] It remains unclear whether this is the same Luther Powell, but the mention is intriguing, particularly given Powell's later documented movements in Alaska and Cole's future involvement with the Klan there.)

[47] Nancy MacLean, *Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 55
[48] *Watcher on the Tower* 1923 (15 Weekly Issues)," *Civil Rights & Labor History Consortium*, University of Washington, https://depts.washington.edu/labpics/zenPhoto/KKK/Watcher-on-the-Tower-15-full-issues-1923/
[49] Thomas Riggs, *Diary*, 1921–1922, Alaska State Archives



As King Kleagle of Washington and Idaho, his influence on the Pacific Northwest is undeniable. His Seattle Klan, local 4, in 1922 sported 2,000 members. This same year he would organize Klan chapters in the Navy, most notably with servicemen aboard the U.S.S. Tennessee stationed in the Puget Sound (as pictured above).[5051] By August of 1923 he attempted to found a youth division of the KKK, but his personal group was quickly overshadowed by the already established national group the Juvenile Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. As quickly as he gained power, however, he began to lose it.[52]

A common trend across second wave Klan activity is a quick collapse due to infighting, empty promises, lack of funds, and those in Politics and the Public not having a favourable view of the Klan. Due to many missteps and heated arguments/moments the Klan would see lots of negative publicity in papers across the country. From prominent political figures being exposed as Klansman or shadow writers for the Klan, denouncement of public displays by local government officials, and a general decentralized spread, its collapse by the end of the 1920s was seemingly imminent.

As Trevor Griffey wrote about Luther Powell for the Seattle Civil Rights and Labor Project for UW,

"While Powell was able to organize dozens of Klan chapters in less than a year, his personality undermined his accomplishments. He was a controversial character prone to outlandish exaggeration and constant squabbles for power with other Klan leaders, especially in Oregon. This was not unusual for the Klan at the time, and is one of the reasons cited for its rapid collapse. The Klan's extraordinary growth in the early 1920s came through aggressive marketing driven by organizers like Powell who fought like

[50] *The Washington State KKK and the U.S. Navy*, *Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project*, University of Washington, https://depts.washington.edu/civilr/kkk_navy.htm
[51] Trevor Griffey, "Luther I. Powell: Northwest KKK Organizer," *Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project*, University of Washington, https://depts.washington.edu/civilr/kkk_powell.htm
[52] Trevor Griffey, "Luther I. Powell: Northwest KKK Organizer," *Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project*, University of Washington.

competing salesmen. Such infighting, along with constant appeals for money, left many rank-and-file members feeling used, fleeced, or both."

Same article stated that by the Fall of 1923, Powell had left Seattle in an attempt to reassert power within the Pacific Northwest Klan structure.[53] In September, that same year, Oregon Klan leader Fred Gifford appointed CC Curtis of Vancouver, Washington (located across the river from Portland) to be the provisional Grand Dragon of all Washington State chapters.[54] Whether this followed Powell's departure or is what pushed Powell out of Washington State is unclear. Following this the *Watcher on the Tower* paper would begin to re-run old articles and then eventually fold. Powell would try and save face and promised that by 1924 he would raise again a 50,000 member Klan chapter in Portland, but ultimately he was pushed out of Oregon again and would also not win any of the 1924 Klan elections.[55] It's around this time he makes his official plans to establish Klan chapters in Alaska and Hawaii.[56] This is where the trail goes cold for many other researchers, either from lack of interest, unable to locate documents themselves, or ultimately the research is outside the scope of certain states and organizations projects. New efforts, including our own work in Juneau, have uncovered evidence that Powell's plans for northern expansion were, unfortunately, realized.

Powell in Alaska - The Klan Expands

"Luther Powell being more of a frontiersman than a settler, moved on to prospect for Klan Gold in Alaska." Is all that David M. Chalmers wrote about Luther Powell's foray in the North in his book *Hooded Americanism - The History of the Ku Klux Klan (3rd Edition)*.[57]

In the Alaskan papers there are multiple hits for Luther Powell, Major Luther Powell, L. Powell, L. J. Powell, Major Powell, Major L. R. Powell and L. I. Powell in the late Spring and into the Summer of 1925.

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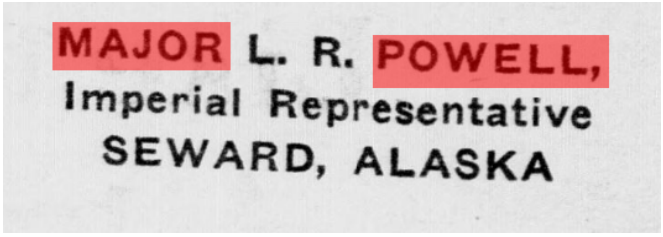
[53] Trevor Griffey, "Luther I. Powell: Northwest KKK Organizer," *Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project*, University of Washington.
[54] Frederick Louis Gifford, biographical entry, *Oregon History Project*, Oregon Historical Society, https://www.oregonhistoryproject.org/articles/historical-records/frederick-louis-gifford-1878-1945/
[55] Griffey, "Watcher on the Tower and the Washington State Ku Klux Klan," *Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project*, University of Washington, https://depts.washington.edu/civilr/kkk_wot.htm
[56] Griffey, "Luther I. Powell: Northwest KKK Organizer."
[57] David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan*, 3rd ed. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987)

On May 13th, the *Alaskan Daily Empire* has him listed as *Major L. J. Powell* of Portland and he's staying at the Gastineau in Juneau.[58] Then on July 7th, 1925 in the *The Alaskan Daily Empire* he's listed just as an *L. J. Powell* of Portland, reportedly staying at the Zynda in Downtown Juneau.[59]

Currently, there is insufficient evidence concerning his whereabouts before he emerges again in the *Seward Daily Gateway* on August 5th. It is in this article we have his direct words under the banner, "Ku Klux Klan Organizer to Form Klan Here - Major Powell States That Every Town In Alaska Will Have a Klan" Here he shared with the Daily Seward that he hoped that within the next two months Alaska will officially have 1500 Klansmen and that,

"He stated that on Friday night of this week initiation of candidates into the order would be held. The initiations are generally held in the woods, far from towns or cities, from a desire to keep the membership secret. Klans have been fully instituted the Major stated, in Ketchikan, Petersburg, Wrangell, Juneau, Haines, Skagway, Cordova, Kennecott, Valdez. From Seward Major Powell proposes to go to Anchorage, thence to Nenana and Fairbanks, and later to Nome, returning to the States in September, at which time charters for the various Alaskan lodges will be mailed out."[60] (The Friday night to which he refers, August 7, 1925, does not align with the Odd Fellows' customary meeting schedule, as their regular gatherings were not held on Fridays according to published calendar notices in the community. However, the Odd Fellows did announce a "Special Meeting"[61] for *that* evening at 8 p.m. in the Odd Fellows Hall in Seward, with a request that all members attend in that day's paper.)

This article appears on page 5 and in the same day's paper, on page following is a "Paid Advertisement" that is a supposed FAQ for the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan signed by Major Powell, Imperial Representative, in Seward Alaska.[62]

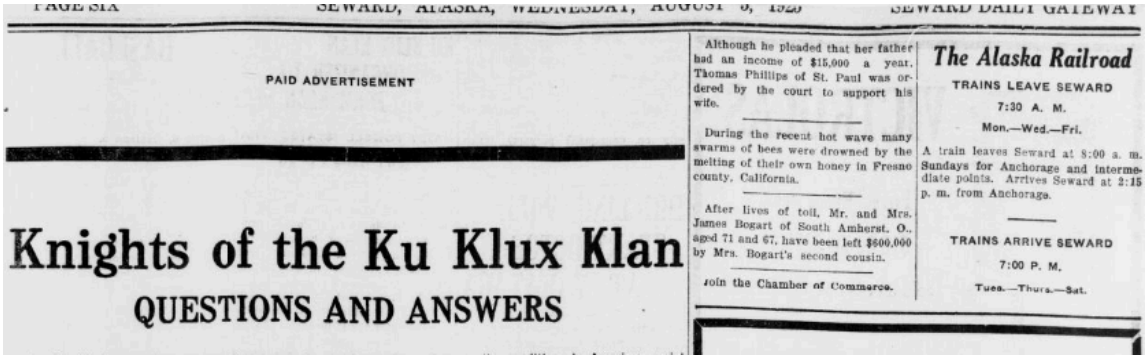


The questions are 4 simple ones with lengthy answers as Powell soliloquies just how many great American people are being perverted from their true course by "excessive alien mixtures", and how they

[58] *Alaska Daily Empire*, At the Gastineau, Juneau, Alaska, May 13, 1925.
[59] *Alaska Daily Empire*, At the Zynda, Juneau, Alaska, July 7, 1925.
[60] *Seward Daily Gateway*, "Ku Klux Klan Organizer To Form Klan Here", Seward, Alaska, August 5, 1925.
[61] *Seward Daily Gateway*, Seward, Alaska, August 7, 1925.
[62] Major L. R. Powell, Imperial Representative. *Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.* Seward, Alaska, 1925.

need to bring America back to its great strengths, seizing this opportunity to belong and follow/create good leadership in our confused country. Saying that the obvious demand for this movement justifies its needs. He goes on about how the Klan could help educate and invigorate every natural born citizen to fully understand the importance of Americanism and how to truly use and live by her liberties. Framing it as they just want to help protect the nation from any further evils of the "unassimilated", especially by stopping immigration. That "they" are real weaknesses in our government that could be easily amended by appointing Klansmen to lead and would truly create a better, more efficient, and constructive government. He prides himself on how the Klan stands by law enforcement, competent local officials, and states again how their ideals could improve public schools.

He includes the question, "Cannot a jew, roman catholic, or Negro be a good citizen?"
To which he dares say that according to their capabilities they could and that "The Klan has no bitterness toward any one of these people." Just that the Klan is standing for certain principles that are more better exemplified by people "possessing certain qualifications and beliefs" aka, White Protestants. Basically as he continues he says, that people in these lower castes to the Klan are of no problem as long as they follow the right ideals, show true patriotism to America, and stay in their own lanes per say.



PAGE SIX SEWARD, ALASKA, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8, 1923 SEWARD DAILY GATEWAY

PAID ADVERTISEMENT

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Although he pleaded that her father had an income of $15,000 a year, Thomas Phillips of St. Paul was ordered by the court to support his wife.

During the recent hot wave many swarms of bees were drowned by the melting of their own honey in Fresno county, California.

After lives of toil, Mr. and Mrs. James Bogart of South Amherst, O., aged 71 and 67, have been left $600,000 by Mrs. Bogart's second cousin.

Join the Chamber of Commerce.

The Alaska Railroad

TRAINS LEAVE SEWARD
7:30 A. M.
Mon.—Wed.—Fri.

A train leaves Seward at 8:00 a. m. Sundays for Anchorage and intermediate points. Arrives Seward at 2:15 p. m. from Anchorage.

TRAINS ARRIVE SEWARD
7:00 P. M.
Tues.—Thurs.—Sat.

Powell wraps up this Q&A section with the following statement,

"Now that the passions and prejudices of our war between the states are so long past, America must frankly face the fact that the Negro is separated from the white man by a profound racial barrier and many centuries of civilization. The racial difference is profound and completely bars any thought of social equality because that would be impossible without intermingling; the lack of development cannot possibly be overcome by any immediate process of education. America owes it to the Negro to give him every

privilege, protection and every opportunity consistent with national safety, but dare not risk the destruction of our civilization that might come if its control should ever fall into their hands."[63]

Similar fears stirred and popularized by *The Birth of a Nation* paralleled then anxieties regarding Native suffrage in Alaska in the 1920s as well.

Luther Powell for sure came at the right time for his ideas of the Klan to finally stick with certain members of the White population of the state. Particularly in the 1920s, the Klan used a technique referred to as bloc recruitment; as discussed in Rory McVeigh's *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan: Right Wing Movements and National Politics* from 2009; Bloc recruitment refers to "the way in which social-movement organizers often recruit members and participants among groups of individuals already organized for some other purpose."[64] This strategy was advantageous to the Klan because it allowed them to recruit large groups of members from one source instead of being faced with the difficult task of recruiting individuals one by one. This strategy was also effective because it allowed the Klan to build upon the solidarity already in place from other organizations. With the discussion and party alignments in full bloom in Southeast Alaska by 1924 around if "illiterate native" should be allowed to vote or should be disenfranchised with a full literacy test in order to vote; Powell probably preyed upon these fears and worries, easily making friends with those on the Republican Alaskan Party who were putting in things to the papers like,

"Perhaps the most important planks in that platform are those relation to Territorial control of the fisheries, and to the prevention of corrupt mass voting of illiterate Indians; and we believe these two planks to be of supreme importance to all the inhabitants of the Territory, regardless of party, including the Indians themselves, who are being imposed upon and misled by their exploiters …. Think it over and examine a little more closely both these important questions; and remembered, if the white votes are split and divided among nine candidates, Mr. Paul and his Indians will win. Safety lies only in voting our ticket straight."[65] (*The Alaska Daily Empire*, April 23, 1924)

and/or;

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[63] Major L. R. Powell, Imperial Representative. *Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS*. Seward, Alaska, 1925.
[64] Rory McVeigh, *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan: Right-Wing Movements and National Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 45.
[65] *Alaska Daily Empire*, "ATTENTION REPUBLICANS - Dear Mr & Mrs Voter", Juneau, Alaska, April 8, 1924.

"We must have a white man's party not alone for the protection of the white people of Southeastern Alaska, and to only a slightly less extent the people of the entire Territory, but because the welfare of the Indians demands it. Unless control through illiterate Indians, voting in mass as Indians rather than as Individual units, is quickly terminated in the First Division, racial antagonisms will be developed that it will take a lifetime to eradicate. Such a condition would in large measure obliterate the work that has been done by education, and by association between
the races, during the last several decades.

The spectacle of illiterate Indians, by the hundreds, going to the polls and voting its they are told to vote, cheapens and degrades American citizenship in the sight of the Indians, themselves, not to mention the object lesson to the rising generation of native white Alaskans. It deprives the youth among the Indians of the incentive that comes through prizing American citizenship as something for which to strive, and it smothers the pride of our children in their American heritage."[66] (*The Alaska Daily Empire*, April 21, 1925)

While Luther Powell mentions other communities he is going to visit, it is unclear at the time of writing this whether he really did make it to all the ones he listed or not. As we know the Klan are often unreliable/hyperbolic narrators, this definitely extends to Powell, but; Given that several independently verifiable articles correspond with his stated activities and coincide with the signing and dispatch of the Mount Juneau Klan charter, we have to then give some further credence to his other claims. His claims can also be additionally backed with information provided by the VCU library in Richmond Virginia too.

VCU has their own interactive widget for "Mapping the Second Ku Klux Klan, 1915-1940"[67] which by 1926 lists the Mt.McKinley Klan, Klavern #1, Mount Juneau or the Juneau-Douglas Klan, Klavern #2, and Klavern #3 in Ketchikan.

Additional Klans appear on the map by 1931 in the communities of Wrangell, Petersburg, Haines, Skagway, Seward, Fairbanks, and Cordova. Unsurprisingly Cordova gets to be Klan #4 and Petersburg #5 while Wrangell is #10. These map pinpoints are all being cited to the *Fellowship Forum* from January 16th, 1926 and/or *Kourier Magazine* for April of 1931.

It is also through this interactive map you can also watch all the other places in the Pacific Northwest.[68]

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[66] *Alaska Daily Empire*, "A White Man's Party is Necessary", Juneau, Alaska, April 8, 1925.
[67] John Kneebone et al., "Mapping the Second Ku Klux Klan, 1915–1940," *VCU Libraries Labs*, https://labs.library.vcu.edu/klan/
[68] Kneebone et al., *Mapping the Second Ku Klux Klan*.

Klavern Number	Name if Known	Location	Considered Active By
1	Mt. Mckinley	Anchorage	1926
2	Mt. Juneau	Juneau-Douglas	1926
3		Ketchikan	1926
4		Cordova	1931
5		Petersburg	1931
6		Fairbanks	1931
7	???	???	
8		Seward	1931
9		Skagway	1931
10		Wrangell	1931
11		Haines	1931

(Chart above created using the VCU Klan Mapping Project Data)

In email correspondence with those who helped create and maintain the VCU Klan Mapping project, it was shared with me that to officially become a Klavern certain numbers of members and dues had to be met. The local Ku Klux Klan organization was required to meet a membership quota, calculated in proportion to the population of the surrounding area before it could obtain an official charter, thereby severing its dependence on the *Kleagle* (the recruiter, would be Luther Powell in this instance) and, crucially, retaining a larger share of dues at the local level. The lower the number, the more pride the group would have; like with other Fraternal organizations being designated a lower number meant you had status as being around longer. I was given the example from Dr. Kneebone In Richmond, Virginia, the local Klan was assigned a quota of 1,000 members, a number it was unable to reach through general recruitment alone. However, the symbolic appeal of securing designation as "Virginia Klan No. 1" proved so compelling that members took up a collection to send enough money to Klan headquarters to secure its charter.

With this gained insight, truly puts into perspective the efforts and lengths that went into forming Klans in Alaska. While we can guess that based on Alaska's population at the time, that the threshold to reach member wise was lower, this also brings up the question: if they didn't meet these numbers in membership count how many people actively chose the pay in route? As we'll see on the only surviving Charter in Alaska (that we currently know of) many who signed their names to leadership roles were well known business men, merchants, and tradesmen in the Juneau-Douglas area. This also may be why, while most of our members are from Douglas, they have a combined charter for both sides of the channel under, "Mount Juneau no. 2". Which, as we'll discuss later in this report, is interesting then that Juneau-Douglas is only number two, as Anchorage's "Mt. Mckinley" Klavern is no. 1, despite having a lower population at the time than here on the Gastineau Channel in the 1920s. Unless, their Klan was established even *earlier*, when in 1917 their population had peaked at 5,500, as it drops to 1,856 in 1920[69] (Or maybe Anchorage did end up paying the big bucks).

Powell reports establishing and visiting multiple Klaverns throughout his excursions in Alaska. Beyond the previously cited articles from the Seward papers, the available records indicate that Powell arrived in Juneau on May 13, 1925, returned there by July, was in Seward by August, and departed from Seward on September 15 aboard the southbound ocean liner *Alaska*, en route to Seattle. Meaning he was in Alaska for almost four months late summer/early fall of 1925. We know from Barnum and Amberson's

[69] *Anchorage Timeline*, Cook Inlet Historical Society, https://www.alaskahistory.org/anchorage-timeline/

run of *Birth of Nation*, despite certain travel challenges Alaska provides, this unfortunately *IS* enough time to make multiple appearances from Juneau to Nome, if one desired.

At present, it remains difficult to continue to trace Powell's movements elsewhere in Alaska without additional newspaper sources or archival material. He does not appear in Alaskan press coverage again until November, when he is reported attempting to enter Canada to assist with the Klan organization in Victoria.[70] Although he ultimately became one of the most prominent Klan organizers in Alaska, his efforts were notably more successful than those of his predecessors in the region.

Major Luther I. Powell, King Kleagle, Opens the Big Drive

Klansmen, in the name of our illustrious and venerated dead and of the noble Cause to which we are all dedicated, I affectionately greet each and every one of you. It is needless to say that I am glad to be back in Oregon, which is my home and old stamping ground, after having been gone for ten months with Domain Headquarters in Seattle, where I carried on the Propagation work for the States of Washington, Idaho and Alaska.

During that ten months we established fifty or more Klans in the Realm of Washington, many of which received their Charters, and assisted in perfecting the State or Realm organization and turned over on the first day of November all unfinished work to the Grand Dragon of that Realm and the State organization.

In realizing the necessity of further organizing the great Realm of Oregon, and in order that we may with a concrete front meet the various issues that are bound to come before the Protestant population of this State in the immediate future, not only in the Senatorial race, and I notice that the Honorable Mr. McArthur has come out in the press declaring his intentions to fight our beloved Klan (may God pity him for being so misguided), but

THE KLAN BUILDER—MAJOR LUTHER I. POWELL
KING KLEAGLE PACIFIC NORTHWEST DOMAIN

man's Progress." Do not miss this—it is by the author of some of the finest and most educational stories and articles that have been published along the lines of Klankraft.

The Frolic Kurrency given for petitions secured by Klansmen, Klanswomen and Crusaders will be accepted on tickets to the Frolic and also at par in exchange for anything on sale on the floor or as admission to any of the attractions. A valuable, useful prize will be given the evening of the close to the Klansman, Klanswoman or Crusader holding the largest amount of Klan Frolic Kurrency.

As a part of the program at the Klan Frolic there will be noted educators—speakers on such subjects as "The Passing of the Great White Race," "The Rising Tide of Color," "Science and Klankraft," "Political Economy and Uplift." This will be an education in itself and is something that every Klansman, Klanswoman and Crusader will want to hear. We have heard our beloved organization cussed and discussed on every side by every conceivable kind of wiseacre, danged fool and crook, including the yellow press, in existence. Now let's listen to the truth for a change. Klansmen should see

On the October 27th edition of *The Watcher on the Tower*; Powell's own Klan Newspaper Bulletin printed in Seattle; Front page has a photo of himself with the caption "The Klan Builder- Major Luther I Powell. King Kleagle Pacific Northwest Domain". The actual article has him discussing how elated he is to be back in Oregon after working out of Domain headquarters in Seattle for the past 10 months. In that time he, "carried on the Propagation work for the States of Washington, Idaho, and Alaska."[71] Again reconfirming his recent trip to Alaska that year; we know almost four of those ten months are spent traveling our state.

[70] *Alaska Daily Empire*, "Organizer of K. K. K. is Kept Out of Canada", Juneau, Alaska, November 11, 1925.
[71] Luther I. Powell, *Watcher on the Tower* (Seattle, WA), October 27, 1923.

John Weir Troy vs. the Ku Klux Klan: A Battle in the Press

THE ALASKA DAILY EMPIRE, TUESDAY, MARCH 1, 1921.

IMPERIAL WIZARD OF KU KLUX KLAN KNEELING AND KISSING FLAG.

The Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan is seen in the above pitcure kissing the American flag, the only flag to which a klansman kneels. Within the last few days the supreme executive committee of the reincarnated clan has decided to extend the active operations of the organization into Northern States. Mayor Hylan of New York city plans to fight the organization and will try to prevent them from getting a foothold in the city.

Rolling back the clock slightly; In the 1920s, before becoming Governor of Alaska, John Weir Troy served as editor of *The Daily Alaskan Empire*, the leading newspaper in Juneau. Over his 20-year tenure, Troy published numerous pieces denouncing the Ku Klux Klan. However, a few years later, he began to temper some of his positions in ways that emphasized the preservation of white liberties, yet remained staunch in his opposition to the Klan. His first direct engagement with the issue, however, appeared on September 2, 1922.

> "The attempt to introduce the Ku Klux Klan in Alaska should be frowned upon by all true Americans. There is no room anywhere in America for this organization that is striking at the fundamentals of American principles of government. There is less room for it in Alaska, if that is possible, than elsewhere in the country, for here people are close to the foundation of things in government."[72]

He continued his denunciation by condemning the Klan as a fear-based, divisive group that thrived on "othering" and directly undermined American values. He warned that "self-respecting Americans will be ashamed that they were ever connected with it," a chillingly accurate prediction for some.

[72] *Alaska Daily Empire*, "No Room in Alaska for Ku Klux Klan", Juneau, Alaska, September 2, 1922.

Without naming individuals, Troy also called out the instigators; young men who were attempting to establish Klan influence in Alaska. Dated for the following day, September 3, The Daily Alaskan Empire published a response letter signed by R. W. Cunningham and D. M. Odom, who identified themselves as: "Kleagles, Realm of Alaska, Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan." Their letter challenged Troy's editorials, arguing that both sides of the story should be heard:

> "Several charges have been made in your publication against the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Did it ever occur to you that you should hear both sides of the question before passing judgment?"[73]

They went on to assert their innocence and claimed that accusations against the Klan were premature and unfounded. The letter posed rhetorical "what if" questions and concluded with a bold defense:

> "The foes of America would have you believe that the Ku Klux Klan is a wild dangerous mob, committing deeds of violence and lawlessness, a source of anxiety to the officials of state, county and city. Thinking men will seriously consider the statement when I tell you that native born loyal Americans and officials of the nation, state, county and city are enrolled among the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan by the thousands, and that no lawless deeds have been or will be committed by this organization."[74]

This statement, however, is demonstrably false. For example, just a year earlier in Oklahoma, a dishwasher in Muskogee was accused of criminal behavior and subsequently abducted and beaten by the Klan and its affiliates. As Allen Safianow notes in a 2023 article for EBSCO,

"Later that year, a shoot-out in Wilson between Klan members and suspected bootleggers left three of the latter dead. Although hundreds of floggings occurred, victims feared reporting the incidents because many officials and police had Klan affiliations. Indeed, by 1922 the Klan had become a significant political force in Oklahoma, locally and on the state level. Klansmen dominated the state legislature."[75]

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[73] *Alaska Daily Empire*, "About Ku Klux Klan", Juneau, Alaska, September 5, 1922.
[74] *Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, September 5, 1922
[75] Allen Safianow, *"Oklahoma Imposes Martial Law in Response to KKK Violence,"* EBSCO Research Starters, https://www.ebsco.com/research-starters/law/oklahoma-imposes-martial-law-response-kkk-violence

The claim by Cunningham and Odom that officials at every level of government were enrolled in the Klan is less a boast than a veiled threat, highlighting the organization's capacity for influence and intimidation issues that will be discussed further in subsequent sections.

On September 6th, *The Daily Empire* doubled down with two more editorials opposing the Klan. The first article curiously distinguished between the post-Civil War Klan and its modern counterpart.[76] While acknowledging the original Klan's role in Southern Reconstruction, it argued that those early members had disbanded once their mission ended. Today's Klan, Troy wrote, was nothing like its predecessor and was made up of: "Quacks and dollar chasers." He concluded: "The modern Ku Klux Klan are not even good imitators. They have stolen a name that ought to be revered for unworthy, unlawful, and Un-American uses." A second editorial that same day was more blunt, condemning the Klan's foray into politics:

> "No organization that enters politics as the Ku Klux Klan did in Oklahoma, Oregon and Texas which wears masks and maintains secrecy concerning the personnel of its membership is needed in the United States. It is not likely that the Ku Klux Klan would last a year out if it would publish a list of its membership in every community in which it has an organization. There would probably be such a scurrying for cover that there would not be enough left to hold meeting in most of the assembling places."[77]

Troy's newspaper continued to publish anti-Klan editorials and stories from around the country. Articles highlighted political resistance in Texas, broken promises, and failures of the Klan elsewhere. One particularly striking piece came from the *New York Evening Post*, reprinted in *The Daily Empire*, which concluded: "It tells the world louder than its enemies could that the Ku Klux Klan is bankrupt intellectually."[78]

The Klan's emergence became a statewide conversation. Other Alaskan newspapers, including the *Cordova Daily Times*, *Nome Nugget*, *Seward Gateway*, and *Nenana News*, also ran stories, both critical and supportive, about Klan movements from the lower 48.

On September 9th, the *Douglas Island News* (also referred to as the *Douglas Stroller*) published its own editorial, opening with a skeptical tone: "It looks to us as though the matter of attempted organization in the place of a Ku Klux Klan is being taken *too* seriously." The editorial downplayed the Klan's threat in Alaska, citing the state's diverse, immigrant-heavy population and arguing that few Alaskans would

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[76] *Alaska Daily Empire*, "There is No Connection", Juneau, Alaska, September 6, 1922.
[77] *Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, September 6, 1922.
[78] *Alaska Daily Empire*, "Ku Klux University Bankrupt", Juneau, Alaska, September 6, 1922. Reposted to the Empire from the *New York Evening Post*.

qualify under the Klan's membership rules. It emphasized that Alaskans valued religious freedom and inclusion, moreover that: "The average Alaskan is too broad-minded." It closed with a direct condemnation of the Klan's presence: "The average broad-gauge Alaskan has no time for them or no use for them," and noted that the agitators "here to spread this are strangers."[79]

That same day in Juneau, *The Daily Empire* printed another short editorial reiterating the stance that secrecy has no place in politics. Citizens, it argued, deserve candidates who are open and transparent. By September 15, Troy was reporting on the Klan's political failures across the U.S., and on September 20, he republished an article from the *Sitka Tribune* reinforcing that message.

> "Remarking on organizers of the Ku Klux Klan in Juneau, *Stroller's Weekly* avers that men who hide behind masks to accomplish political purpose will not make any headway among Alaskans. *The Empire* finds the order is anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, anti-foreign born, anti-colored races and characterizes it as 'un-American.' Any one of these counts is enough to condemn the order."[80]

Elsewhere in the territory, reports continued to track the Klan's stumbling efforts. On September 16, the *Nenana News* briefly mentioned rumors of a planned "invasion" by Klan organizers. A week later, the *Cordova Daily Times* reprinted the *Douglas Stroller's* earlier editorial. While some Alaska papers took a firm stand against the Klan, others, like *Cordova's*, walked a more ambiguous line, criticizing and legitimizing the Klan in nearly the same breath. One unsettling example was a so-called "joke" reprinted from the *Toronto Goblin*:

> "Sheriff—Have you seen any suspicious characters hanging around here?
> Ku Klux Klansman—Well, suh I did see one feller hanging on a tree down the road, but he wa'n't suspicious, he was daid."[81]

Despite the supposed waning of the Klan's efforts, the organization remained a fixture in Alaskan newspapers throughout the fall of 1922; thanks to continued reprints of national stories, Troy's persistence in *The Empire*, and the bizarre developments surrounding the Klan in other parts of North America. Reports included the rise of an anti-Klan group in New Jersey, the "Invisible Jungle, Knights of the

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[79] *The Strollers Weekly*, Douglas, Alaska, September 9, 1922.
[80] *Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, September 9, 1922.
[81] *Cordova Daily Times*, Cordova, Alaska, October 12, 1922.

Tiger's Eye"[82], Luther Powell's involvement in Klan activity in British Columbia, and even the emergence of a Filipino gang in Honolulu calling themselves the "Filipino Ku Klux Klan."[83]

It was the 1920s: dramatic, fast-paced, and filled with cultural flare-ups like these. But for most Alaskans, the Klan's first attempted foothold didn't stick, pre Luther Powell's arrival a few years later. By late October, that sentiment became official. On October 27, 1922, the *Seward Gateway* confidently reported: "The attempt to establish a Ku Klux Klan in Alaska appears to have died a-borning,"[84] adding with a tone of relief: "There is not and has never been any mob violence in the territory, which has its first lynching to experience." (While not Klan related, I would like to note that this overlooks earlier episodes of mob violence in the region driven by racial adversity. Notably, in August 1886, an angry mob expelled Chinese miners from Treadwell on Douglas Island, violently forcing them from the area.[85])

As for the men who tried to bring the Klan to Alaska, their presence was fleeting and largely undocumented.

D. M. Odom, despite signing his name to the September 3rd letter to the editor, left little trace in any public records. His name does NOT appear on ship manifests, hotel registers, nor in follow-up articles. Whether he was using a false name, or simply left quickly, remains unknown. R. W. Cunningham, on the other hand, appears briefly. He was listed departing Seattle for Juneau by steamer in May[86], and on August 30, the *Daily Alaskan Empire* noted him staying at the Gastineau Hotel in Juneau[87]. The *Cordova Daily Times* later reported that Klan literature was being handed out locally the week of September 8[88]. After that, Cunningham's name surfaces only once more, on October 17, when he departed Seward for Seattle.

Their efforts to establish the Klan in Alaska, though public and at times inflammatory, left no lasting structure, or so it seemed; the story of the Klan in Alaska definitely does not end here. As the decade progresses, Troy's 1922 denouncement of the KKK contrasts sharply with his later support for what William Paul referred to as a "Lily White" ticket. As discussed in a later section; By 1924 and cresting in 1926, articles in the Daily Alaska Empire on Native voting rights and civil rights shift toward themes of white racial preservation and American Citizenship integrity.

Also the Klan's presence in Alaska while dismissed here in Juneau in 1922 others were actually raising the alarm bells, not believing that this visit from Odom and Cunningham should be taken lightly and did not see the efforts of the Klan "die a-boring." In *The Catholic Northwest Progress* published in Seattle,

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[82] *Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, October 24, 1922.
[83] *Cordova Daily Times*, Cordova, Alaska, October 18, 1922.
[84] *Seward Daily Gateway*, Seward, Alaska, October 27, 1922. Reposted from the *Voice of Alaska Press*
[85] David Reamer, "The mob violence that drove Chinese miners from Juneau in 1886 — and the one man allowed to stay," *Anchorage Daily News*, October 3, 2021.
[86] *Alaska Daily Empire*, "Almeda Here Last Night on Way to South", Juneau, Alaska, May 30, 1922.
[87] *Alaska Daily Empire*, At the Gastineau, Juneau, Alaska, August 30, 1922.
[88] *Cordova Daily Times*, "Alaska is Invaded by Klan Organizers", Cordova, Alaska, September 8, 1922.

Washington news of the Klan in Alaska published there in an issue from September. Amongst some other news from the Catholics in Alaska is a call for more Sisters to come help with parochial school in Juneau to expand the grades and presence in the town. This plea is listed under the article title, “Ku Klux Klan Invade Alaska.” where they conclude this snippet with, “the nature of the country is now added, the inimical force of bigotry, for the Ku Klux Klan is endeavoring to invade Alaska. Two organizers from Portland Ore., recently made their appearance in Juneau. The press of the city has denounced their efforts, yet they are meeting some success.”[89]

So despite the newspaper’s confident claims that the Klan had been eliminated from the territory in 1922, the historical record suggests otherwise. The seeds, though scattered, had not been fully uprooted.

1921 - Societal Struggles in Kennecott

One of the few official items found from any state or historical office we’ve come across so far that outright talks about the KKK is from a Kennecott Historical Bulletin produced by the National Park Service.[90]

Between the different social events and gatherings, the bulletin takes a moment to discuss societal issues regarding race happening in the 1920s at the mine and town. It’s brief but reads,

“Kennecott was not isolated from the struggles of the greater American society. A Klu Klux Klan (KKK) minstrel show was even advertised and hosted in the Recreation Hall in 1921. The nation’s second KKK was established in 1915 and promoted the idea that the nation’s economic struggles were the fault of African Americans, Jews and this country’s growing wave of immigrants. The Klan’s membership included both Republicans and Democrats, and its influence spread throughout the United States. Kennecott may not have had any African American employees at the time. The steamship line refused passage to African Americans, clearly limiting their access to Alaska as a whole. Kennecott did, however, employ a large number of immigrants in the mines. One can imagine the message that an event associated with the ideals of the KKK sent to them.”[91]

Followed up by a quote from “Kennecott Kid”, Yvonne Konnerup Lahti saying that there was a social difference not just between staff and non staff people but, if you were Danish or Norwegian or Swedish. She truly felt that there was some type of othering occurring based on race/origin. This is a reminder that

[89] “Ku Klux Klan Invade Alaska,” *The Catholic Northwest Progress* (Seattle, WA), September 22, 1922.
[90] “*Kennecott – The Kennecott Story.”* Wrangell–St. Elias National Park and Preserve, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, n.d., https://www.nps.gov/wrst/learn/historyculture/upload/Kennecottbulletin.pdf.
[91] “*Kennecott – The Kennecott Story,”* NPS.

the concept of "whiteness" has evolved and changed with the times and political influence.[92] There are a lot of European groups that to a current world may be described as "white" that back in the day, especially pre-WWII, were NOT considered White (i.e. those from Slavic origin, Italians, Baltic Groups, and sometimes certain Scandinavians. Essentially many *non-anglo* whites.)

The Kennecott bulletin also includes a photo of one of the minstrel shows hosted there and through a brief search on Newspapers.com you can find several advertisements for "Bills Minstrel Show!" in nearby Cordova, as well as rehearsal schedules for the local Elk's minstrel show. I was eventually able to track down the possible newspaper article referenced in the bulletin by the National Parks service specifically and just, you can't make this up.

Wednesday, November 24th, 1920 in the "Newsly Letter About Doings At Kennecott" section of the Cordova Times is the following blurb, "Hiss Schultze is giving a minstrel show in January called the K.K.K's, 'Kennecott Krazy Koons.' Mr. J. Sadlier is the leading man and some of the assistants are Mr. Sorry, Mr. Brunnell, Mr. Manalia, Mr. Dennis and Mr. Whitsell."[93] They are mentioned again in the Cordova times on December 6th as, "The K.K.K's are working hard for the big minstrel show to be held sometime in January."[94] Subsequent references to the "Kennecott Krazy Koons" are scarce; further investigation primarily yields mentions of other minstrel productions by Bills and the Elks, suggesting that the troupe's activities were limited or minimally documented beyond these initial notices.

1923 - Alaska in need of Ku Klux Klan

The Call of the North was a Ku Klux Klan publication based in St. Paul, Minnesota, used to disseminate favorable propaganda and promote the organization's ideology. The paper had a brief lifespan, lasting approximately one year.

Posted in the July 27th edition is an article titled in bold, "ALASKA IN NEED OF KU KLUX KLAN" and outlines the points of why Alaska needs the Klan, especially to help with law enforcement in the territory. Oddest and scariest part of this article is that they say this information and request is coming from a local of Juneau. The article in its entirety is as follows:

"July.--- Alaska is ripe for the Klan, according to a prominent merchant from Juneau here last week on business with the government. He declares the Klan's law enforcement program has attracted favorable attention among the business men of the Golden Territory, where law breakers are numerous and law enforcement is scant.

[92] "*Kennecott – The Kennecott Story,"* NPS.
[93] *Cordova Daily Times*, Cordova, Alaska, November 24, 1920.
[94] *Cordova Daily Times*, Cordova, Alaska, December 6, 1920.

He points out the government's law enforcement brigade in Alaska is based on population rather than on the quality of the law breakers, and for that reason a strong Klan in the territory would not only be welcomed but would meet with great encouragement.

He says on the account of the comparative inaccessibility of the territory, it is a veritable rendezvous for criminals from other parts of the United States. Gambling, moonshining, bootlegging, and murder are the principal crimes he declares."[95]

Upon re-examining this article in the context of the digital repository we have compiled on Klan activity and known or suspected members in Alaska, several concerns arise. The article provides a direct reference not only to Juneau but also to a prominent merchant with business connections in Washington, D.C. While some might dismiss such claims as typical Klan propaganda intended to bolster their publications, there is reason to consider them potentially credible. Unfortunately I can think of several individuals who fit the profile and timeframe described, and this issue intersects directly with themes addressed in the following section.

While looking into travel habits of those we discuss throughout this paper, for the specific stripe of the summer, around July, to D. C. Business, current indication is that this is possibly *F. A. J. Gallwas*. If any of the other individuals known (or suspected) to have been involved in the Territorial Legislature had been the subject of the *Call of the North* report, one would expect them to have openly boasted about speaking with a legislator, clerk, or representative of the Territory. Initially, I considered Cash Cole a likely candidate; however, I was reminded that F. A. J. Gallwas, 1923, served on the committee responsible the President Warren G. Harding memorial fund[96]. As will be explored later in his profile, Gallwas was a prosperous merchant and business owner on the Douglas side of the channel, proprietor of a dry goods store, and treasurer or financial supporter of various local organizations and enterprises; as well as Mayor. He was also known as a patriotic man and was one of those involved in the arrangements for Harding's visit to Alaska, earlier that year. We also know that "Masons, Elks, Pioneers, and other fraternal workers" participated in arrangements, gifts, and the welcoming party upon an adjust before Harding's arrival[97]. The Anchorage chapter of the Pioneers of Alaska even made Harding an honorary member, and reportedly sent him some official buttons of the organization[98].

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[95] "Alaska in Need of Ku Klux Klan," *The Call of the North* (St. Paul, Minn), July 27, 1923.
[96] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Mayor Gallwas Chairman for Harding Memorial" Juneau, Alaska, December 19, 1923.
[97] *Times Herald*, "Harding Party Arrives at Juneau" Washington D. C., July 10, 1923.
[98] David Reamer, "The history of presidential visits to Alaska, starting with Warren G. Harding's ill-fated 'Voyage of Understanding'." Anchorage Daily News, December 12, 2021.

As Douglas mayor, he issued a proclamation published on 7th of July 1923 declaring the forthcoming event a public holiday for all residents of Douglas[99], thereby allowing the community to witness what was presented as a historic occasion. He served as a principal speaker on the day of the President's arrival in Juneau[100]. Although Warren G. Harding did visit Alaska that July, his trip was entirely unrelated to Ku Klux Klan activities. While certain members of the Klan may have expressed admiration for him, claims that Harding himself belonged to the organization have been thoroughly discredited,

"Although he belonged to many fraternal organizations, he never was a Klansman. In 1922, the Klan spread the story that the president was a Klansman, and that allegation was published in newspapers across the country. The president adamantly denied the story. The Klan's smear campaign seemingly was retribution for an October 1921 speech Harding gave in Birmingham, calling for an end to inequality between the races in regard to political, economic and educational opportunities. The Klan also found that telling people the president was a Klansman was helpful in recruiting new members. The Klan was at the height of its popularity and membership in the early 1920s, with 4 million members and chapters in all 48 states."[101]

F. A. J. Gallwas is one of several likely candidates, for the individual referenced in the *Call of the North* article. If the article does *not* refer to Gallwas, this would indicate the presence of yet another affluent Klansman active in the Juneau area, further reflecting the organization's activity in the region. Other well known businessmen & "Merchants" come to mind; B. M. Behrends, F. Wolland, Guy Smith, Mr. Blomgren, Allen Shattuck, J. M. Sloum, Goldstein, maybe even W. W. Batcheller from the Klan charter we'll go over later. It would just be a matter of seeing if any of their reported travel in and out of town matches up with being in D. C. sometime between July 1st and July 26th; especially in regards to doing any business with the government, additionally this individual is one who worries about law and safety.

This article appeared in the same newspaper issue that reported on the establishment of a Klan presence in Alaska's far north. Same edition does briefly mention Harding's trip to Alaska, in regards that while he travelled here he was reported to have confirmed abstinence from drink; aligning with Klan ideals regarding prohibition.

Combing through the few copies of *Call of the North* reveals only five references to Alaska, all of which are addressed either in this section or elsewhere in this report. Although sparse, these mentions

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[99] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "A Proclamation" Juneau, Alaska, July 7, 1923.
[100] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Douglas Residents Visit Capital En Masse to Honor President" Juneau, Alaska, July 11, 1923.
[101] Harding Presidential Sites, "Fact vs. Fiction," https://hardingpresidentialsites.org/fact-vs-fiction/

nonetheless corroborate evidence of Klan activity in Alaska prior to 1925, activity that appears to have persisted despite earlier claims that Odom and Cunningham's recruitment efforts in the territory had been unsuccessful. Notably, the 28 September edition of *Call of the North* includes a passage emphasizing the perceived vitality of the organization: "If the Klan organization had been of human origin, it would have ceased to exist long ago; but somehow it is thriving mightily on the milk of persecution and making bold strides up and down our great country, even in frigid Alaska. Like the Hebrews of Moses' time, the more they are afflicted the more they multiply and grow."[102]

1924 - Klan Derangement Syndrome

Sometime in March of 1924, a Ketchikan Homesteader was brought before a Ketchikan jury to assess his sanity, in which the Ketchikan Jury declared he was sane. Then sometime in December of that same year he was placed against a different jury in the Juneau U. S. Commissioners Court. What behavior was he accused of to warrant this hearing? According to the accused, John Gasper, he felt that he was a target for the Ku Klux Klan.[103]

From other articles we know there were some Klan officials in Alaska off and on before Luther Powell arrived in the Summer of 1925. Including there was an article in the *Call of the North* paper from St. Paul, Minnesota (July 27th, 1923)[104] Where they say, "The Boundaries of the Invisible Empire have been extended as far North as Alaska … So far north that the members probably wear fur robes and 'mush' to meetings by dog teams. The aurora borealis dims the glow of the fiery cross and the Klansmen have a nice long night, 60 days in duration, to stage ceremonies."

While the first half of this article is seemingly satirical we do know just in the previous year Odom and Cunningham were making their rounds in Alaska; The article specifically identifies Juneau as the site of this Klan, noting that "geographically speaking, Juneau Klan is the most distant of all Klans from the Imperial Palace [in Georgia], being over 4,000 miles away." Published under the header "Alaska has Klan of Invisible Empire," the story is explicitly datelined from Juneau, Alaska. Later on in research we were able to find the origin of this article to actually have come from a June 30th, 1923 edition of a Klan paper called *Dawn*.[105]

John Gasper, according to the original article from *The Seward Daily Gateway* was, "laboring under the delusion of persecution and claimed that he was being persecuted by the Ku Klux Klan."[106]

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[102] "Why Do They Wear Masks?," *The Call of the North* (St. Paul, Minn), September 28, 1923.
[103] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Ketchikan Man Found Insane by Local Jury" Juneau, Alaska, December 17, 1924.
[104] "Alaska Has Klan Of Invisible Empire," *The Call of the North* (St. Paul, Minn), July 27, 1923
[105] "Farthest North Klan Established in Alaska," *The Dawn*, June 30, 1923.
[106] *Seward Daily Gateway*, "Ketchikan Man Found Insane by the Jury" Seward, Alaska, December 30, 1924.

Growing up a saying I heard was, “Just because someone's paranoid doesn’t mean they aren’t being followed”; So while Gasper may have been seen in this case as crazy, there could also be truth to his story. If it was a delusion, what would have triggered it? Again, the courts in Ketchikan didn’t think he was insane, but the Juneau courts did. Specifically the judge who presided over the hearing and has him committed is Felix Gray, *of Douglas*. While Felix Gray is not on the Kinky Bayers Klan list[107], at this time his Wife is secretary of the Douglas Ladies League while he himself was City Clerk of Douglas, a Chairman on the Douglas Schoolboard, and at one point was even U. S. Commissioner for Douglas. Felix Gray seemingly worked alongside others on the Klan Charter, as well as were social associates to he and his wife; as we’ll get into later on in this paper. So, some may find it convenient then that the man who is deemed insane because he thinks the Klan is out to get him is deemed so by a close associate of those who would sign the Klan charter in the coming year. The jury too in this case, would not have been Mr. Gasper’s peers but, made up of people from Douglas.

The article about Gasper runs twice, both in the *Seward Daily Gateway*, first on December 30th, 1924 and then again on January 3rd, 1925[108]. It does not run in any other papers we can find, and unfortunately there is no clear digital database for Ketchikan papers in the 1920s; one would hope to find more in the home papers where he’s from/the incident took place, but so it is unclear why exactly and then “John Gasper” is not in any other papers, at least in the Chronicling America database and the Newspapers.com ones, aside from the double entry of the same article. To locate additional coverage, I consulted the Alaska State Library and Archives’ microfiche collection of Ketchikan newspapers, which again, are largely undigitized. I carefully went over issues from March 1924, seeking the case referenced in the Seward articles, but was unable to locate it. Interestingly, one Ketchikan paper noted that the local courts would convene in April for pending cases but made no mention of March sessions, which may explain the absence of reporting for that period. Moving on to examine the rest of the year through December, he does not seem to appear though. The man truly is effectively disappeared.

He’s sent South, out of Alaska to the Morningside Sanitorium in Portland Oregon (also known as Morningside Hospital[109]). When doing cursory research on the Sanitorium it was made known that there is an entire historical project ongoing involving records at the Morningside Hospital. It was no coincidence that he seemingly disappears from all records, aside from that article, as the front of the Morningside Hospital webpage says,

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[107] Lloyd H. Bayers, *Captain Lloyd H. “Kinky” Bayers Collection, 1898–1967*, Juneau Historical Subjects Files, Alaska State Library Historical Collections, 1968.
[108] *Seward Daily Gateway*, “Ketchikan Man Found Insane by the Jury” Seward, Alaska, January 3, 1925.
[109] “Morningside Hospital - in Territorial Days, Alaskans Could Be One of Three Places... inside (in Alaska), Outside (Anywhere Else), or Morningside (Morningside Hospital).” Morningside Hospital, 2015. https://www.morningsidehospital.com/.

"At the time, mental illness was considered a crime. Alaskan adults and children were arrested, convicted of being insane, and sent by the federal government to live at Morningside Hospital in Portland, Oregon. They were taken from their families and communities by dog sled, train and boat. In the end, at least 3,500 Alaskans were sent to Morningside between 1904 and the 1960s, when Morningside was finally closed. Many were never heard from by their families again. These are the Lost Alaskans.

The Lost Alaskans: The Morningside Hospital History Project is an effort by volunteer researchers to document the history of Morningside through territorial court records, national and state archives, vital statistics, genealogical and burial records, and interviews. Our goals are to have the Morningside story recognized as an important part of Alaska history and to provide information to families still searching for loved ones who disappeared decades ago."[110]

Which ultimately is another story for another time, for our purposes it's unfortunate that little records remain, as that project attempts to put them together and this partially explains his complete disappearance from the regular Alaskan records.

Like many institutions at the time conditions may not have been preferable and many sent there, including children, were suffering from conditions that now would be better handled and would not necessarily require any psychiatric intervention in the modern day. We do not know 100% if Gasper was a target of the Klan or not; but going off the records he maintained this belief for most of his time at Morningside. The sparse records they hold confirm he was Hungarian and being a Hungarian at this time he was most likely Catholic. Additional notes say, "Dementia precox, paranoid form. Difficulty about homestead. Delusional trend about K.K.K. and newspapers. Gradiose. Irritable and Profane at times. Poor physical condition. Laborer, single, age 40."[111] Unfortunately, like many others, he would die in Morningside of Teburculoisis.

The article from *The Seward Daily Gateway* identifies him as a homesteader from the Ketchikan "District,"[112] but this likely refers to the broader region rather than the town or city itself. This distinction is important, it raises the possibility that he may have witnessed one of those secret meetings Powell describes when he visits Alaska; which are intentionally held away from urban centers and public scrutiny.

However, there's a conflicting detail: the Morningside records don't just say he was admitted from Juneau, they just list Juneau as his place of origin.[113] This contradicts the article's claim and adds another layer of uncertainty to his background. It's difficult to know which version is more accurate.

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[110] *"Morningside Hospital,"* 2015.
[111] "Lost Alaskans Patient Database," 2025. https://lostalaskans.com/
[112] *Seward Daily Gateway*, Seward, Alaska, December 30, 1924
[113] "Lost Alaskans Patient Database,"

Complicating matters further, his delusions reference newspapers, suggesting that the abundance of sensational articles at the time may have influenced or exacerbated his mental state.

Going over the records we have left for Morningside, unfortunately many sent there not only were suffering from mild conditions, but many sent were of ethnic backgrounds that unfortunately to some were unfavourable at the time. There are pages and pages, where they even say many don't speak English, of those of Slavic and Scandinavian Backgrounds, as well as *MANY* Alaska Natives from a variety of places across the state. There is current discussions in several communities about incorporating Morningside into reports on Indian Boarding schools. As quoted in a 2024 article for Native News Online,

"In total, close to 5,000 Alaskans were committed to Morningside, for diagnoses including: suicidal tendencies, head injuries, drug abuse, epilepsy, dementia, postpartum depression, alcoholism, birth defects, syphilis, and imbecility, according to court records gathered across the state and country by a group of volunteer researchers. Many were never heard from by their families again. Death certificates show that more than 1,100 Alaskans died at Morningside. Hundreds of them were Indigenous."[114]

Nearly a century later, Alaska Native families and tribal communities have only recently begun to reconstruct their collective history in relation to Morningside. In Gasper's Alaskan town of origin, today the Ketchikan Indian Community is examining whether the institutionalization of certain ancestors at Morningside coincided with the transfer of their lands into non-Native ownership. While not unheard of in similar situations, this coincides with some of our concerns we already have about certain groups, like the Klan, using Morningside as a possible depository for those racially or socially undesirable and or of nuisance to certain white individuals and white led communities in Alaska.

We also know the courts and towns sometimes just sent criminals there, or those they wished to be treated as such, and at this time the one transporting most of these criminals and "insane persons" out of the Juneau Douglas area *IS* U.S. Deputy Marshal Wm. E. Feero, who by 1925 signed on with the Klan.[115]

[114] Jenna Kunze "Mourning Morningside: Alaska Native Souls Honored and Freed from Oregon Asylum Graveyards." *Native News Online*, March 31, 2024. https://nativenewsonline.net/mourning-morningside
[115] Bayers, "Captain Lloyd H. 'Kinky' Bayers Collection."

Dr. H. W. Coe Native Alaskan Gov't Inspector

When skimming through the 578 pages of patients, another name sounded familiar, “Arthur Abatte” who Feero would arrest and eventually transport to Morningside from Douglas (even though again, records say Juneau) on the grounds of breaking prohibition laws. His record says he was a national of Antwerp, Belgium and while in fair physical condition suffered from “Mania” and too would die at Morningside. At the time of his original arrest he had claimed liquor seized from him was “not true alcoholic liquor but a mixture of denatured alcohol and water.” Saying he was taking it for a sickness and that “everybody was drinking the same beverage.” It was during his 4 month sentence was his case declared “hopeless”[116] and that after observation he was declared insane and sent to Morningside. It is troubling that an individual listed on the Klan charter, who also held law enforcement authority, was actively involved in transporting people out of state, individuals who subsequently disappear from the historical record; particularly given that many of these persons, again, were possibly neither seriously ill nor mentally incapacitated, and were sent to a location later known for the involuntary disappearance of Alaskans.[117]

John Gasper held onto his “delusions” regarding the Klan well into his stay at Morningside[118]. When researching further Klan activity in Oregon, it was noted in several publications that Mt. Tabor in Portland was home to multiple cross burnings throughout the 1920s[119]. Mt. Tabor was actually part of the original site the earlier version of Morningside Hospital; by the time Gasper had arrived they had already moved

[116] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Abbate is Committed to Portland Asylum” Juneau, Alaska, September 5, 1925.
[117] *“Morningside Hospital,”* 2015.
[118] “Lost Alaskans Patient Database,” 2025. https://lostalaskans.com/
[119] *The Sunday Oregonian*, “Fiery Crosses Appear on Hills” Portland, Oregon, April 11, 1937. p58

into the larger facilities in the area, which still had some views of Mt. Tabor. Pair that with automotive parades of hooded Klansman was a common sight in Southeast Portland[120] and a general large presence in the 1920s in the city. He, along with others who harbored similar fears of the Klan and were sent to Morningside, likely regarded those fears as more than justified in light of what they could've witnessed there.

1924/1925 - "Miscellaneous Out of Town." A Ketchikan Machinist in Wrangell

The Ku Klux Klan's documentary record is dispersed across numerous states and localities, reflecting both the organization's decentralized structure and its longstanding emphasis on secrecy. As noted in other sections, Klan leaders took deliberate measures to ensure that membership lists, internal papers, and records of meetings remained confidential. In a brief e-mail correspondence with Professor Kneebone of Virginia Commonwealth University, he observed that, because of the controversy, stigma, or fear associated with Klan affiliation, family members who encounter such materials, often in storage or after the death of a relative, frequently choose to destroy them rather than donate them to archives. This dynamic, combined with the already fragmented nature of extant Klan documentation, makes locating materials, particularly those referencing geographically distant or smaller chapters such as those in Alaska, like looking for a needle in a Haystack.

Nevertheless, more extensive searching across various corners of the web yielded an unexpected discovery within the *New York Heritage Digital Collections*. The Buffalo History Museum and Research Library holds a pamphlet, dated to 1924-1925, identified as a membership directory for the Buffalo chapter of the Ku Klux Klan. The item's description reads: "Directory of Klan members in Buffalo and surrounding areas. Alternate title: *Exposé of Traitors in the Interests of Jews, Catholics, Negroes and all respecters of the American Principle of Civil and Religious Freedom.*"[121] The pamphlet contains thirty-two scanned pages listing members, businesses, and individuals authorized to conduct work on behalf of the Klan or are direct Klan members. Included among the names are city employees, clergy, and a multitude of local professionals, such as bakers and dentists from Buffalo and the surrounding region.

On page 22, when going over general members, under the "MISCELLANEOUS OUT OF TOWN" section at the top is "Lotz, Geo. L.. Machinist, Ketchikan, Alaska."[122]

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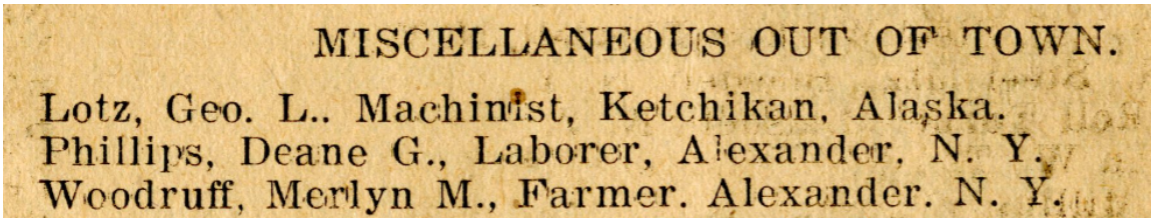
[120] J. D. Chandler, *Murder & Scandal in Prohibition Portland: Sex, Vice & Misdeeds in Mayor Baker's Reign* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2016), 110

[121] *Directory of Klan Members in Buffalo and Surrounding Areas*, alternate title: *Exposé of Traitors in the Interests of Jews, Catholics, Negroes and All Respecters of the American Principle of Civil and Religious Freedom*, 1924–1925, Buffalo History Museum and Research Library, New York Heritage Digital Collections.

[122] *Directory of Klan Members in Buffalo*, 1924–1925.


MISCELLANEOUS OUT OF TOWN.
Lotz, Geo. L., Machinist, Ketchikan, Alaska.
Phillips, Deane G., Laborer, Alexander, N. Y.
Woodruff, Merlyn M., Farmer. Alexander. N. Y.

We know that Ketchikan was home to Klavern No. 3, founded in 1926 according to the VCU Klan Map.[123] This provides another confirmed instance of Klan activity in Southeast Alaska just before and during Luther Powell's trip to the region.[124] Researching this area is already difficult, as most Ketchikan newspapers remain undigitized and accessible only on microfiche at the Alaska State Museum in Juneau. When searching for "Geo. L. Lotz" in the Newspapers.com database yields no results. However, replacing "Geo." with "George" and omitting the middle initial produces several relevant entries. One documents his wife traveling through Juneau in June 1924[125]; another notes that on December 16, 1922, Mr. and Mrs. George Lotz arrived in Juneau from Seattle aboard the "Christmas Boat"[126]. In contrast, the Library of Congress's *Chronicling America* database returns a substantially greater number of references.

In the Buffalo paper he's listed as a "Machinist" and in the *Wrangell Sentinel* for April 1925 there are a few ads and articles about "Richfield & Lotz" becoming the new owners of the Wrangell Machine Shop on April 1st. "Mr. Lotz was formerly in charge of the Ketchikan Iron Works. Both men have families but will probably not bring their families to Wrangell until after the close of the present school year." Though by May there is another article that says his family arrived from Seattle aboard the Admiral Rogers and will be settling in at a cottage owned by E. J. Lyons on Church street there in Wrangell. He sings and helps with refreshments at local PTA meetings there in Wrangell, keeping with the theme here that all these Klannish types in Alaska were participants in their local communities civic functions as well as often musically inclined. Apparently while he and his wife were involved, the PTA in Wrangell reaches new membership highs with 160 folks in attendance at their monthly meetings; December 3rd 1925. 1925 could be considered a curious year specifically for the growth of a group in any town, given the context of this research paper.

On March 25th, 1926 the *Wrangell Sentinel* released that year's nominations for Municipal Officers.[127] According to the article, forty persons turned out that Saturday at town hall. George Lotz is nominated for councilmen, but declines. Additionally he is nominated for School Board, and accepted alongside A. E. Gurr, W. R. Neville, and P. C. McCormack. A B. Y. Grant is also nominated but declines. This also falls in

[123] Kneebone et al., *Mapping the Second Ku Klux Klan*.
[124] Powell, Watcher on the Tower, October 27, 1923.
[125] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, June 4, 1924.
[126] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Spokane is Christmas Ship Here" Juneau, Alaska, December 16, 1922.
[127] *The Wrangell Sentinel*, "Nominations for Municipal Office" Wrangell, Alaska, March 25, 1926.

line with the profile we've seen, most Klan members in Alaska, that we know their names, run for or hold some type of public office in 1926. Though in the following Month's election results it lists Mr. Lotz as an independent candidate for Councilmen; he only gets 16 of the 211 ballots cast coming in dead last.[128]

In July of 1926 his wife was the hostess for the Ladies Aid of Wrangell and Mr. Lotz was part of the Red Cross Roll call.[129] Another article discussing them helping with a wedding also reveals they too are of the Protestant denomination, specifically the Episcopal Church. 1926 is a very busy year for them, as they also have a set of Twins born, Robert and Charles[130].

In February of 1926 talking about the Mooseheart school, which he apparently visited the previous year praising that, "music is a major feature of the curriculum of the Mooseheart school. Every child is given a complete and thorough training in all branches of music."[131] The Mooseheart school is located in Mooseheart Illinois and is run by the Fraternal Organization, the Loyal order of the Moose. A different article in the Wrangell papers discussing the Moose Barn dance says that "George Lotz was a very capable chairman."[132] Confirming he himself is a Moose.

Then in December it was announced in the Wrangell papers that the partnership between F. T. Richfield and George Lotz doing business together under the Wrangell Machine Works will be no more, under mutual consent. Answer for why is simply that Mr. Lotz is retiring from the business[133]. In January of 1927 it's announced in the Wrangell Sentinel that He and his family will be leaving Wrangell to move to Blaine Washington, including moving their ranch there. The small article continues, "The Lotz family have been valued residents of Wrangell for the past year and a half and the community regret their departure."[134] Lotz contracts cancer of a gland and dies in Seattle after surgery on November 20th, 1928 at the age of 38.

It's in his obituary announcement, originally posted in *The Bellingham Herald* that we learn his mother, brother, and sister live in … Buffalo, New York[135]. Confirming the connection he has to Buffalo that started us looking into him and his activities. I was wondering why in such a specific place would he be connected to and mentioned, in a Klan published, who to know and work with type pamphlet at that.[136] His death announcement in the papers also confirms he was a member of the Wrangell Masonic and Moose lodges, and stayed connected to these groups as it's reported that his Funeral will be held that Tuesday at the Seattle Masonic Lodge.

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[128] *The Wrangell Sentinel*, Wrangell, Alaska, April 8, 1926.
[129] *The Wrangell Sentinel*, "Meeting of the Ladies' Aid" Wrangell, Alaska, July 29, 1926.
[130] *The Wrangell Sentinel*, "Twin Boys" Wrangell, Alaska, May 6, 1926.
[131] *The Wrangell Sentinel*, "Wrangell Girl Heard Over Radio" Wrangell, Alaska, February 25, 1926.
[132] *The Wrangell Sentinel*, "Moose Barn Dance Huge Success" Wrangell, Alaska, November 25, 1926.
[133] *The Wrangell Sentinel*, "Dissolution Notice" Wrangell, Alaska, December 16, 1926.
[134] *The Wrangell Sentinel*, "Lotz Family Leave" Wrangell, Alaska, January 27, 1927.
[135] *The Wrangell Sentinel*, "George Lotz Dies In Seattle After an Operation" Wrangell, Alaska, November 29, 1928.
[136] *Directory of Klan Members in Buffalo*, 1924–1925.

Hard to say now how many other Klansman there could have been in Alaska that were registered to other Klaverns in the lower forty-eight.

1924 - "Alaska Mason Must Have the Forum"

A Popular paper for the Klan in the 1920s was the *Fellowship Forum*.[137] Started in 1921 by the Independent Publishing Company in Washington State by two Masons. They stated that the mission of the paper was to disseminate "religious and patriotic doctrines." Many columns and publication were on the topics of support of prohibition and general fraternal on-goings between different organizations, but quickly the paper became known as a "Klan allied masonic journal"[138]. As discussed in William Fox's book, *Lodge of the Double-headed Eagle: Two Centuries of Scottish Freemasonry in America's Southern Jurisdiction*. The first official announcement of a link between the Masons and the Klan even came from the *Fellowship Forum*. In *News for All the People: The Epic Story of Race and the American Media,* they explicitly say that the paper was "an integral part of the resurgence of the KKK among white Americans in the 1920s." This paper was used as a mode to discuss and push anti-catholic propaganda, spread Klan aligned ideas, and further promote white Americanism.[139] It is also referenced as the source VCU used in their "Klan Tracker" project to pull their Alaska data from.[140]

In the April 16th edition from 1924, in the "Open Forum of Opinion of All Fraternal Matters" section is the small editorial titled, "Alaska Mason Must have the Forum."[141] The little bit I can read in the current blurry state we have the article in is basically a praise of the paper's existence. The the writer is very pleased to be a subscriber and has been sharing the good news of the *Fellowship Forum* at other fraternal meetings he attends as he is a Past Master, a member of the 33rd Degree Masons of the Scottish Rite, Shriner, Commander of the Kadosh, and a First Worthy Patron of the Eastern Star.[142]

And who is this deeply involved fraternal man writing to this Klan affiliated paper? C. J. Woofter of Nome Alaska.

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[137] Thomas R. Pegram, *One Hundred Percent American: The Rebirth and Decline of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2011), 108-9

[138] William L. Fox, *Lodge of the Double-headed Eagle: Two Centuries of Scottish Freemasonry in America's Southern Jurisdiction* (Charleston, SC: Southern Jurisdiction, 2001)

[139] Juan González and Joseph Torres, *News for All the People: The Epic Story of Race and the American Media* (New York: Verso, 2011)

[140] Kneebone et al., *Mapping the Second Ku Klux Klan*.

[141] C. J. Woofter, "Alaska Mason Must Have the Forum," *Fellowship Forum*, April 16, 1924, sec. "Open Forum of Opinion of All Fraternal Matters."

[142] Woofter, "Alaska Mason Must Have the Forum."

Clarence J. Woofter, originally from Auburn, West Virginia, served as a Republican member of the Alaska Territorial House of Representatives for the 2nd district from 1929 to 1930.[143] Before his election, he had already begun building a public presence in Juneau, both professionally and socially. A *Daily Empire* article from the 1926 election period notes:

> "Ralph Lomen and Thomas Gaffney are practically elected to the House of Representatives with Clarence J. Woofter, formerly linotype operator on *The Empire*, and well known in Masonic Circles in Juneau, virtually assured of fourth place."[144]

This early reference highlights both his employment at *The Empire* and his visible role in Juneau's fraternal networks, particularly the Freemasons. In fact, by 1920, Woofter had been named "Mason of the Year" in Juneau and was announced to lead Mount Juneau Lodge No. 147 F. & A.M. during the upcoming year.[145] Throughout the early 1920s, he appears to have been an active participant in the city's civic and social scene: presiding over lodge meetings, attending Masonic functions, and appearing in local event listings. His wife, a violinist, also contributed to the community's cultural life, performing at dances, banquets, and ceremonies, occasionally in events associated with her husband. She additionally directed the high school orchestra.

In the course of researching another possible Klan connection, J. T. Spickett of the Alaska Pioneers, I examined a number of photographs in the Alaska State Library and Archives digital collection. Among these was a Winter & Pond photograph labeled, "Moose Minstrels. Palace Theater, Mar. 1st & 2nd, 1922."[146] While the archival description does not identify the individuals, a corresponding advertisement in the *Daily Alaska Empire* for March 1, 1922, promotes the "Moose Minstrels" performance at Spickett's Palace and lists Mrs. C. J. Woofter as the violinist in the orchestra[147]. The photograph itself depicts fourteen actors in blackface on stage, with four musicians seated in the orchestra pit. The woman in the fur shawl and hat holding the violin is therefore likely Mrs. C. J. Woofter, locally known as "Klondy."[148]

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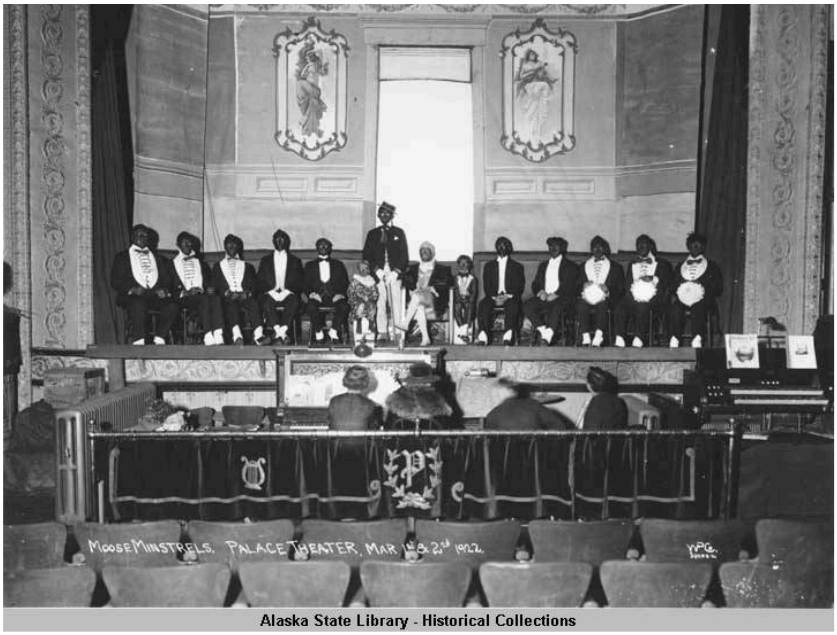
[143] *"C. J. Woofter," 100 Years of Alaska's Legislature*, Alaska State Legislature, 2013 https://akleg.gov/100years/bio.php?id=1550.
[144] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Sutherland's Lead Growing In Territory" Juneau, Alaska, November 4, 1926.
[145] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "C. J. Woofter Heads Masons for the Year" Juneau, Alaska, December 14, 1920.
[146] Winter & Pond, *Moose Minstrels. Palace Theater, Mar. 1st & 2nd, 1922*, photograph, Alaska State Archives
[147] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Moose Minstrels" Juneau, Alaska, March 1, 1922.
[148] *"Woofter, Klondy,"* Pioneers of Alaska, Juneau Igloo 6, Pioneers of Alaska Juneau, https://poajuneau.nationbuilder.com/woofter_klondy



Alaska State Library - Historical Collections

In the summer of 1922, Woofter resigned from his position as court librarian in Juneau to accept a federal appointment as Clerk of the U.S. District Court in Nome. According to a June 13th report, he also assumed duties as Recorder in the U.S. Land Office there[149].

However, after this period, documentation of Woofter becomes unexpectedly sporadic. Despite being portrayed as deeply involved in numerous fraternal and civic organizations, his name appears infrequently in newspaper coverage or records of group activities around/after 1926. The *100 Years of Alaska's Legislature* biographical page lists an impressive array of affiliations: Commander of the American Legion; Member, President, and Secretary of the Pioneers of Alaska; Exalted Ruler of the Elks; and membership in the Odd Fellows, Moose, Eagles, and Freemasons.[150] Woofter himself made similar claims in publications like the *Fellowship Forum*.

Yet aside from election-related press and some early 1920s social mentions, Woofter does not consistently appear in the archival record alongside other prominent figures of these organizations. This absence is particularly striking given the detailed nature of group reporting during the era, especially in small, close-knit territorial communities like Juneau and Nome.

All together, Clarence J. Woofter's early prominence, bolstered by his professional work, fraternal affiliations, and brief political tenure, is well documented through the early 1920s; But by the end of the decade, his public visibility begins to fade from the surviving record, creating a notable gap between the honors and roles attributed to him and the archival evidence available today. Even his Pioneer of Alaska

[149] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Woofter Resigns to Accept Nome Office" Juneau, Alaska, June 13, 1922
[150] "C. J. Woofter," 100 Years of Alaska's Legislature, 2013.

page, from Juneau's own Igloo 6, is lacking a lot of information about him and has more info about his wife "Klondy" instead.[151]

Speaking of Nome - 1901

Nome is the home to the earliest Alaskan Klan we have found in our research, stemming directly from someone else. Surprisingly mentioned in the notes section of a dissertation by Christopher Adkins on the History of the Alaskan sled dog was the following:

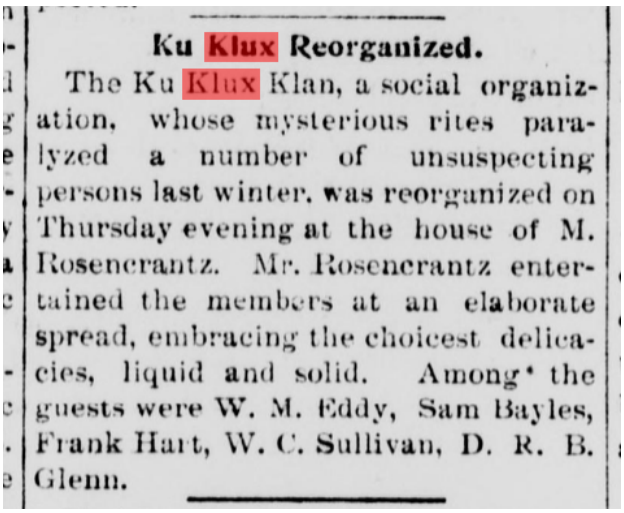
"A chapter of the Ku Klux Klan, for instance, was reported by The Nome Nugget to have coalesced very early after the town's founding ("Ku Klux Reorganized," November 30, 1901). W.M. Eddy, who served as both police chief and later on the municipal clerk in Nome tax, was amongst those listed as joining. However, the KKK did not appear to take root in Nome. By 1916 it was spoken of in the past tense as a relic of a bygone age, e.g. in a Nome Daily Nugget editorial (December 14) discussing the consequences of Wooldridge v. United States (237 F. 775 [9 th Cir. 1916]) – although there, ironically, couched in abrasive and sexually charged racist language against the Indigenous peoples. By the 1920s, the KKK seems to have been regarded as figures of fun: a joke printed in the periodical for Chilkoot Barracks (Fort William H. Seward) runs: "'I hear your town is strong for Ku Klux.' 'Well, I should say! Even the rain comes down in sheets'" (The Chilkoot Post, August 28, 1925)."[152]

One way of doing this research on the Klan Alaska has been to leave no stone unturned and information will come up in some of the most surprising ways. This large footnote from Adkins is from in his dissertation where he's discussing Racism and White Colonial attitudes towards the sport of Dog Sledding and Sled Dog rearing. The citation specifically being for the sentence, "However, even if this boorish version of White supremacy did not prefigure in how and why Alaska was colonized and settled, White supremacy ipso facto – an ugly but inseparable component to colonialism on the North American continent – was still an inexorable factor"[153]

In reviewing the referenced article firsthand, the piece appears under the title "Ku Klux Reorganized." It records that those present at the meeting held at the residence of M. Rosenerantz included W. M. Eddy, Sam Bayles, Frank Hart, W. C. Sullivan, and D. R. B. Glenn. With these folks on the earliest cusps that straddle the line between First and Second Waves of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States, it is difficult

[151] "Woofter, Klondy," Pioneers of Alaska.
[152] Christopher David Adkins, *A Republic of Pawprints: The Rise and Reign of the Alaskan Sled Dog, 1870–1970* (PhD diss., University of South Florida, April 2024)
[153] Adkins, *A Republic of Pawprints*.

to determine the extent to which they continued their involvement or how long such activities persisted. Nevertheless, the article clearly shows that this group of Alaskans openly affiliated themselves with the organization; an event described as one where attendees partook of "the choicest delicacies, liquid and solid."[154].



Ku Klux Reorganized.

The Ku Klux Klan, a social organization, whose mysterious rites paralyzed a number of unsuspecting persons last winter, was reorganized on Thursday evening at the house of M. Rosencrantz. Mr. Rosencrantz entertained the members at an elaborate spread, embracing the choicest delicacies, liquid and solid. Among the guests were W. M. Eddy, Sam Bayles, Frank Hart, W. C. Sullivan, D. R. B. Glenn.

As previously noted, W. M. Eddy served as both police chief and, later, municipal clerk in Nome. Sam Bayles appears frequently in early twentieth-century records as well: by 1913 he was an auditor and a councilman in Iditarod, in addition to managing a clothing company; by 1917 he is even secretary of the Third Territorial Legislature[155]. He seems to have been a well-known and active figure in that community. Frank Hart, according to his October 1910 obituary, "was a man who counted his friends by the number of people who knew him, and was one of those hardy pioneers who are always thinking of the interests of others over those of his own."[156] He was also a member of both the Masons and the Odd Fellows in Cordova. The town of Cordova reportedly even suspended business during his funeral, at which Rev. S. Hall Young presided.

The identity of W. C. Sullivan remains uncertain; a "W. Sullivan" appears in newspapers from Hyder and Nome in the early 1900s, but the connection is not yet confirmed. D. R. B. Glenn, by the late 1920s, is recorded as a city surveyor and recognized as one of Alaska's early pioneers[157]. Some of these individuals hitting the same marks we see with other Klan members later in Alaska.

In the December 14th edition of the *Nome Nugget* in 1916 is the lengthy editorial Adkins cited talking about the reversal on the decision surrounding the actions of a W. H. Wooldridge in Fairbanks; according to the case file,

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[154] *Nome Nugget*, Nome, Alaska, November 30, 1901
[155] *Alaska Daily Empire, "*Personal Mentions" Juneau, Alaska, May 25, 1917
[156] *The Daily Alaskan, "*Well Known Alaskan Dies" Skagway, Alaska, October 7, 1910
[157] *Nome Daily Nugget, "*Pioneers of 1899" Nome, Alaska, December 3, 1903

"W. H. Wooldridge, called defendant, was indicted in Alaska on February 18, 1916, on two counts: One for statutory rape, alleged to have been committed December 23, 1914; and another for an attempt to commit rape on February 14, 1916, upon Laura Herrington, a girl under 16 years of age. Wooldridge was acquitted on the first count, but convicted of an attempt to commit rape as charged in the second count. Writ of error brings the case to this court."[158]

The editorial about this case reversal is uncomfortable to say the least, as Adkins put in his citation, "although there, ironically, couched in abrasive and sexually charged racist language against the Indigenous peoples."[159] In Summary the editorial agrees with the reversal of the sentence, saying that Wooldridge is innocent because of points we still unfortunately see today when discussing cases of Sexual Assault, that no wrong was done because at the time the actions seemed consensual by the male party and how the law in the territory is too strict on its definitions. Additionally, in an ugly fashion, the editorial places the blame on the victim inciting racist ideas that native girls are easy, considered mature at an earlier age, manipulative, and should not be held to the same laws and standards as white people; that she obviously had some ulterior motive for accusing him of these actions. The ideas and opinions in this piece are already alarming, but where does the Ku Klux Klan fit in this?

The reference is in the middle of the article in discussion surrounding when citizens do and don't trust their local and state officials, the consequences and actions thereof that happen.

"We do not know how many reversals a court must have nor how many proved cases of injustice are necessary to convince the bureaucrats at Washington that a certain set of federal officials in Alaska are unworthy to further hold office. Probably a great many, but we remember what the Ku Klux Klan did in the south when officials were too domineering. We remember what the vigilantes have done from time to time in the great west in the interest of justice, and we marvel at the moderation often shown by Alaskans under great provocation."[160]

The general tone of this editorial in its entirety is a bit difficult for me to fully understand at times, but in my initial reading, while placing the Klan as past threat, there seems to be implication that they are a symptom of what can happen when people feel they are not being listed to; while this is true, I would not categorize their actions as justifiable to in the same bracket as Cowboys necessarily.

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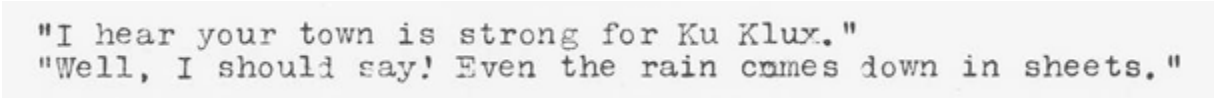
[158] Wooldridge v. United States, No. 6688964, CourtListener (Alaska, 1916), https://www.courtlistener.com/opinion/6688964/wooldridge-v-united-states/
[159] Adkins, *A Republic of Pawprints*.
[160] *Nome Daily Nugget,* Nome, Alaska, December 14, 1916

The last thing is the notes from Adkins paper is a joke posted in The Chilkoot Post, August 28, 1925[161]. While trying to access the specific page from the Chilkoot Post this is featured on, repeatedly it is the only page from that edition *Chronicling America* gives a "404 Error" for. Not sure what's going on there at this time, through re-routing the paper and finding it by looking at editions instead of by search term, we were able to view it quickly enough to save the page as a PDF. While typing this now, I can not recreate the path and get proper access to page six where it is on.


"I hear your town is strong for Ku Klux."
"Well, I should say! Even the rain comes down in sheets."

1925 - Special to the Kourier from Juneau, Alaska

The National Kourier or often just known as *The Kourier* that some of these articles are from was the official national magazine and a key propaganda tool of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan during the height of the organization's second wave, from the mid-1920s to the mid-1930s. Sometimes even referred to "The Magazine of Americanism" by Klan propagators. They wrote their own articles as well as reposted and accepted submissions from other Klan affiliated sources and or members.

In the May 15th edition from 1925 is a specially submitted article to *The Kourier* from a submitter in *Juneau, Alaska*. The title of the article is, "Klan Penetrates Alaskan Recesses to Aid Americans." and is dated for being originally written and or submitted on May 11th. The first paragraph reads, "Any doubt that the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan have come to Alaska to stay have been dissipated by reports just received here covering the work of the organizer who recently invaded the territory with the announced plan of staging a vigorous campaign of propagation work here." Most likely, while not named, is in reference to Powell; On May 13th, the *Alaskan Daily Empire* has him listed as Major L. J. Powell of Portland and he's staying at the Gastineau Hotel in Juneau. The article does not say who exactly wrote it, but continues: "Active working units have been established here and in Sitka. Both with a nucleus for fine bodies with a large membership."[162] Sitka being named is actually surprising and huge since so far no where else have we seen Sitka specifically named and/or said to have an established Klan. When originally working on the literature review section of this paper, one source we read had said Alaska had 11 Klans but, according to the VCU Klan Tracker, there was only a confirmed 10.[163] There officially on that data set is no listing for a Klan number 7. Reading this, Sitka then might be the 11th (or Klavern no.

[161] *The Chilkoot Post* (Chilkoot Barracks [i.e., Port Chilkoot (Haines)], Alaska), August 28, 1925, 6.
[162] "Klan Penetrates Alaska Recesses to Aid Americans," *The National Kourier*, May 15, 1925.
[163] Kneebone et al., *Mapping the Second Ku Klux Klan*.

7). As discussed earlier, while there may have been members or those interested, they may not have had an official Klavern either due to not reaching membership or monetary quota.

The author of this articles concludes his article to *The Kourier*, "As the season opens up the work will be pushed into further sections, the plan being that before next winter Klans will have been formed in all principal cities of Alaska, reaching as far north as the Seward peninsular, with units in Nome, St. Michael and possibly Fairbanks."[164] Actually integral the mention of Seward specifically, as consistently that community in particular has come up a lot throughout research on the topic.

A CHARTER - Making it Official with Juneau-Douglas Officials

As mentioned earlier when discussing Luther Powell's movements in Alaska; Powell says that when he returned to the state of Washington in 1925 that he would send back the charters for the Klans he helped establish in Alaska[165].

According to the *"Kinky" Bayers Papers*, housed at the Alaska State Museum and Archives, there was an official Klan Charter sent back to Juneau, Alaska in 1925.[166] This was for the No.2 Mount Juneau Klan in the Realm of Alaska. This was later presented to Ed Keithan, Curator of the Alaska Territorial Museum in 1956. Thought possibly lost, as the mention in the Kinky Papers is the only time it pops up in any museum archive searches here in Alaska; BUT we do know from a *Juneau Empire* Article posted in the Neighbours section that a version of the Charter did end up at the Juneau-Douglas City museum sometime in 2009.[167]

Cited in the 2009 article by Mac Metcalf; the Charter was given to the museum and was "found" by Researcher, Gregg Erickson. When reaching out to him through a fellow historian peer in Anchorage, it was relayed to us that Erickson said he received the Charter under some grey circumstances. A vague rendezvous was made at Juneau's Triangle Bar in 1971, where he purchased the charter by possibly an older man described as "Alaskan Native". Aside from that, no other details have been given and Erickson says in 1971 he didn't ask for any further prominence/context for who the individual was and why they had it. As stated earlier, it would eventually find its way to the City Museum in 2009. The only photo of it that used to be available was the one on the Neighbours column in 2009, but unfortunately the image was not saved by the Wayback Machine and even after digging through several physical boxes of the Capital City Weekly, 2009 copies are seemingly sparse…

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[164] "Klan Penetrates Alaska Recesses to Aid Americans," *The National Kourier*, May 15, 1925
[165] *Seward Daily Gateway*, Seward, Alaska, August 5, 1925
[166] Bayers, "Captain Lloyd H. 'Kinky' Bayers Collection."
[167] Metcalfe, Mac "The Ku Klux Klan in Juneau," *Juneau Empire*, March 22, 2009.

As of November, 2025, we were finally able to confirm that the Juneau-Douglas Museum is still in possession of the Klan Charter still in their archives and have had the opportunity to see it with our own eyes. Additional details given from Museum staff in regards to notes about the item. The provenance notes were that the Donor at the time said that he had purchased the Charter in 1971 from someone who worked for the State in the office of Legislative affairs. And that,

"In February 2009 a researcher at the State Historical Library came across a note in the Kinky Bayer collection that indicated that Bayer intended to donate a similar document to the Territorial Museum. A complete check of State records by Steve Henrikson, Curator of Collections at Alaska State Museum and Jim Simard the Director of the ASHL turned up no indication that a Ku Klux Klan Charter document was ever actually delivered to the Territorial Museum or put into its collection. A consensus was reached by Alaska State Museum, ASHL and Juneau Douglas City Museum that the appropriate repository for the document considering all the information currently available is the Juneau Douglas City Museum."[168]

The LAA (Legislative Affairs Agency) is a functioning non-partisan support agency for the Legislature, providing services such as legal, research, accounting, and printing. In attempting to locate general staff listings or documentation regarding procedures for requesting such information, the primary sources available focused instead on identifying elected officials in the Alaska House and Senate, along with other principal governmental figures of the period. The Sixth Alaska State Legislature convened from January 1969 to January 1971 and the Seventh from January 1971 to January 1973. Now *informally* we had been given the context that the man who sold or gave the charter to Erickson was an Older Alaska Native gentleman, or so he remembers. My initial review of the Legislature's Juneau-area members yielded no clear matches. The closest possibility was Elton Engstrom Jr., a Republican from the Chicken Ridge/Star Hill area who had connections to the *Juneau Empire* and was known as an avid book collector[169]. However, to my knowledge, Engstrom was not an Alaska Native, and he would have been only 36 years old in 1971. While I cannot entirely rule out this possibility, it seems unlikely he would have been misidentified as an older Alaska Native man at that time.

I expanded my scope to include anyone from Southeast Alaska in general, bonus points if they had family or ties to Juneau. One notable figure fitting this expanded profile was Frank Peratrovich of Klawock, a Democratic member of the House during the Sixth Alaska Legislature who continued to serve

[168] Provenance Notes: Item - *Mount Juneau Klavern no. 2 Charter/Scroll*, Juneau-Douglas City Museum, 2009
[169] Rosemarie Alexander, "Elton Engstrom Jr. Dies," *KTOO*, November 7, 2013 https://www.ktoo.org/2013/11/07/elton-engstrom-jr-dies/

through 1973[170]. He was the brother of civil rights leader and Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) figure Roy Peratrovich, who was married to civil rights trailblazer Elizabeth Peratrovich. Frank was among the oldest (in age) serving legislators in 1971, having been born in 1895; he would have been 76 going on 77 that year. Although this remains entirely speculative, he aligns with both the formal and informal criteria to an extent that we were given concerning the individual from whom Erickson acquired the Charter from.

Considering the local governmental restructuring underway in 1970, most notably the incorporation of Douglas into the City and Borough of Juneau, there would have been several circumstances in which this document might have reappeared or been passed along to a number of individuals. Also interesting this has come up just at the cusp of ANCSA too and the official start of the Alaska ACLU. It would be noteworthy, and consistent with several of our working hypotheses around other events in our research though if a leader/member within the Alaska Native Brotherhood, especially one with Juneau and or Douglas connections, had been indirectly involved in the Charter's preservation or transmission.

Another possible research direction regarding the holder of the Klan charter is to examine the controversies surrounding the formation and early activities of the Alaska ACLU in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It is conceivable that Erickson may be conflating his recollection of purchasing the charter from an "older Native man" with someone who either was not Native or was merely portraying such a figure. One potential source of this confusion is Ray Manning, a member of the theatre group that staged local productions in Juneau, including the controversial *Hootchinoo 'n Hot Cakes* show[171]. In a 1968 article about that year's production, Manning was described as preparing to lead the new "Chief Klakes" at the *Legislative Affairs Agency*.[172] The character of Chief Klakes was itself the focal point of the criticism that show received[173] as he was basically an offensive caricature of an older Native man, depicted as illiterate and drunk, and frequently played by a white actor in redface. Manning later became a founding member of the Alaska ACLU in 1971[174].

The early years of the ACLU in Alaska were marked by significant public controversy brought on by certain community members of Alaska through extensive letters to the editor[175]; The organization drew opposition from the American Legion, anti-communist groups[176], and self-described advocates of "law

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[170] University of Alaska, *Convention Delegates*, Milestones to Statehood, 2006 https://web.archive.org/web/2006*/https://www.alaska.edu/creatingalaska/convention/delegates/peratrovich.xml
[171] *The Anchorage Times*, "The End Written To Drama" Anchorage, Alaska, May 3, 1977
[172] *The Juneau Empire*, "Cooks Ready to Serve Hoochinoo n' Hotcakes" Juneau, Alaska, June 2, 1968
[173] *The Juneau Empire*, "Letter to the Editor - Dennis Harris" Juneau, Alaska, June 14, 1976
[174] "About Us," Alaska ACLU, https://www.acluak.org/en/about/about-us
[175] *The Juneau Empire*, "ACLU - Letter to the Editor, from Mary Heller" Juneau, Alaska, August 19, 1971
[176] *The Anchorage Times*, "ACLU Membership" Anchorage, Alaska, October 30, 1970

and order" as true Alaskan patriots[177], whose rhetoric against the ACLU at times mirrored that of when accusing the Ku Klux Klan[178]. Is this a case then of as the old saying goes, "A hit dog always hollers"?

During 1969 and into the early 70s, the ACLU publicly stated that it intended to pursue an ambitious agenda and was prepared to challenge entrenched political interests; "most present day civil liberties violations occur at the level of local law enforcement, local judiciary and state legislatures, continual vigilance in these areas is necessary. It shall be the policy of the Alaska CLU, he said, to seek out aggressively cases of violations of civil liberties on this level and to initiate appropriate action."[179] Using the Charter as a potential bargaining chip or evidence of long standing civil rights issues could have been a good play for them. At this stage, however, we cannot confirm Manning either as the 1971 keeper, especially while interesting, he would have only been 33 at the time and has unfortunately passed in 2017[180].

As it becomes further apparent in other parts of this paper, the Masons and the K.K.K. had a strained, but intertwined relationship in the 1920s. As noted in a later section, almost 40% of the roster for the Masons and Eastern Stars for the Mt. Juneau-Gastineaux Lodge in the 1920s are Klansmen or direct family/spouses of one. In 1971 there was brief talk around the usage of the Juneau Masonic Temple as overflow for meeting spaces and possible offices for the increasingly crowded Legislature. Built in 1928, the Masonic Temple building is located right next door to the Alaska State Capitol building. "Fairbanks Democrat who heads the House Rules Committee says as many as four committees may be required to meet in the Juneau Masonic Temple during the next legislative session espite an overall increase in Capitol Building work space."[181] and in conversation with old timers, there was already cross over in using the space in the early 70s, which seemingly is reflected in an article from 1973;

"but due to their (the Masons) courtesy to us in the past, I wouldn't want to cast a reflection on them." This quote comes from a curious article about opposition to using the Masonic Temple for overflow when it was announced that a House committee meeting would be held there. The opposition to continue using the Masonsonic Temple as overflow came from two black men in the Alaska Legislature, Representative Willard Bowman, D-Anchorage and Representative Selwyn Carroll, R-Fairbanks, and brought onto the floor by Representative Bill Parker, D-Anchorage. Parker, "rose to ask if the legislature made a practice of 'using facilities which practice discrimination in membership"[182] Willard testifies that, "This has been a sore point with me since I came down here, but I chose to overlook it because of the lack of meeting

[177] *The Juneau Empire*, "Neutralize The ACLU - Letter to the Editor, from Theodore Heller" Juneau, Alaska, September 22, 1970
[178] *The Anchorage Times*, "Secret Membership" Anchorage, Alaska, August 6, 1970
[179] *The Juneau Empire*, "ACLU Policy Presented" Juneau, Alaska, February 13, 1969
[180] Beck Funeral Homes & Cremation Services, "Raymond Manning Obituary," Beck Chapels, November 26, 2017, https://www.beckchapels.com/obituaries/Raymond-Manning?obId=28818622
[181] *The Juneau Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, June 28, 1971
[182] *The Juneau Empire*, "Masonic Temple Use Brings House Debate" Juneau, Alaska, January 19, 1973

space." And Carroll wanted it to be on the record that he was against this. A short debate followed with Representative Eliason, R-Sitka, saying that there were "all black Masonic lodges" out there and he was against discrimination regardless if it came from Blacks or Whites. Representative Genie Chance, D-Anchorage, wanted to remind folks that this was not out of courtesy they are allowed to use the space, but that the Legislature pays to rent the space. Mike Bradner, D-Fairbanks, said he was not worried about the cost though and agreed that the Legislature should not use *that* building as a meeting space. House speaker Tom Fink, R-Anchorage, "seeing that several other members were on their feet to make remarks, asked their permission to cut off the discussion for adjournment." and there were no objections.

Knowing the history of American Masonry's strained relationships in admitting and not admitting African Americans into their ranks, taking a separate but equal stance later on[183], and of course looking at how here locally, there are numerous Alaskan masons in the early 1900s with ties to the Ku Klux Klan; With all that in mind you can see where these representatives have gotten a certain idea about the Masons' race related track record. Unfortunate that by 1973, the charter was no longer in possession by whomever at the Legislative Affairs office had it, as its existence and contents directly would've validated the claims and discomfort expressed that year on the House floor. Knowing that the Masonic Temple was being used as early as 1971 to host overflow for meetings and then subsequent clean up/renovation of spaces, as facilitated by the Legislative Affairs office, this is also a possible way the Charter found its way into a rendezvous at the Triangle Bar.

Until someone can come forward with more evidence by supplying the actual name of the individual in question and the true circumstances that this Charter came to light initially; We can only continue to speculate.

What is *not* speculative, however, are the clearly documented names recorded on the Charter, many of which belong to individuals and families of significant public interest. These are people who are widely credited with shaping Juneau, and Douglas in particular, into the communities they are today. The Charter lists prominent figures who held public office, made consequential decisions, and participated in formative historical events, especially those central to Douglas's development.

"Kinky" took the time to type out the contents of the 20 by 24 inch scroll, including all details it presented as follows[184],

"To the lovers of Law and Order, Peace and Justice we send greeting; and to the shades of the valiant, venerated Dead we gratefully and affectionately dedicate the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Amen." There is then a list of names and their roles, we will come back to this momentarily. Just after the text continues,

[183] John B. Williams, "Racism in American Freemasonry," *The Phylaxis* (n.d.), https://thephylaxis.org/williams/racism.php
[184] Bayers, "Captain Lloyd H. 'Kinky' Bayers Collection."

"KLAN no. 2., Realm of Alaska located at Juneau. Now know Ye, that I, the Imperial Wizard of the K.K.K on this 30th day of the 9th month of 1925, and on the doleful day of the Weird week of the Furious month of the year of the Klan LIX and in the 10th cycle of the 3rd reign of our Reincarnation, under the authority possessed by me, do issue this CHARTER (Honor) to the aforesaid petitioners, their associates and successors and same is effective from the date of its acceptance by said Klan as certified below.

THE SAID KLAN is hereby authorized and empowered to do and perform all such acts and things as are prescribed by the Kloran, Laws, Imperial Decrees, Edicts, Mandares and Usages of the Order, and to enjoy all the rights, privilege and prerogatives authorized by the Constitution thereof; and all Klansmen are strictly enjoined to valiantly preserve and persistently practice the principles of pure patriotism [PAGE BREAK] Honor, Klannishness and White Supremacy, ever keeping in mind and heart and the sacred sentiment, peculiar purpose, manly mission and lofty ideals and objects of this Order and devoted loyalty to their Emperor and their Imperial Wizard, a steadfast obedience to the Constitution of this Order, a faithful keeping of their Oath of Allegiance, and a constant, unwavering fidelity to every interest of the Invisible Empire, to the end that progress, power, purpose and influence of Klankraft be properly promoted, the knowledge of faithful, self-sacrificing service and noble achievements of our fathers be not lost to posterity, and all those things for which this our beloved Order is founded to and to perform, and to protect, and to preserve and to perpetuate, be diligently done and scrupulously maintained, and that they be blameless in preserving the grace, dignity, and intent of this Charter forever.

I SOLEMNLY CHARGE YOU to hold fast to the dauntless faith of our fathers and to keep their spotless memory secure and unstained, and true to the traditions of our valiant sires, meet every behest of duty, in all the relationships of life and living, promptly and properly, without fail, without [PAGE BREAK] fear and without reproach.

THE IMPERIAL WIZARD has and holds the full and unchallengeable authority, right and power to cancel, to suspend or revoke this Charter and to annul all the rights, powers, prerogatives and immunities conferred hereby, for the neglect or refusal on the part of the said Klan to conform to and comply with the Kloran, Constitution and Laws of the Order and the Imperial Decrees, Edicts, Mandates, Rulings and instructions thereof, or its failure to respect the Usage of this Order, as proclaimed by and maintained under the Imperial Authority of the same.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I the imperial Wizard of the KKK, have caused to be affixed hereunto set my hand and impress my official seal, and same is duly attested. - - 'NON SILBA SED ANTHAR'

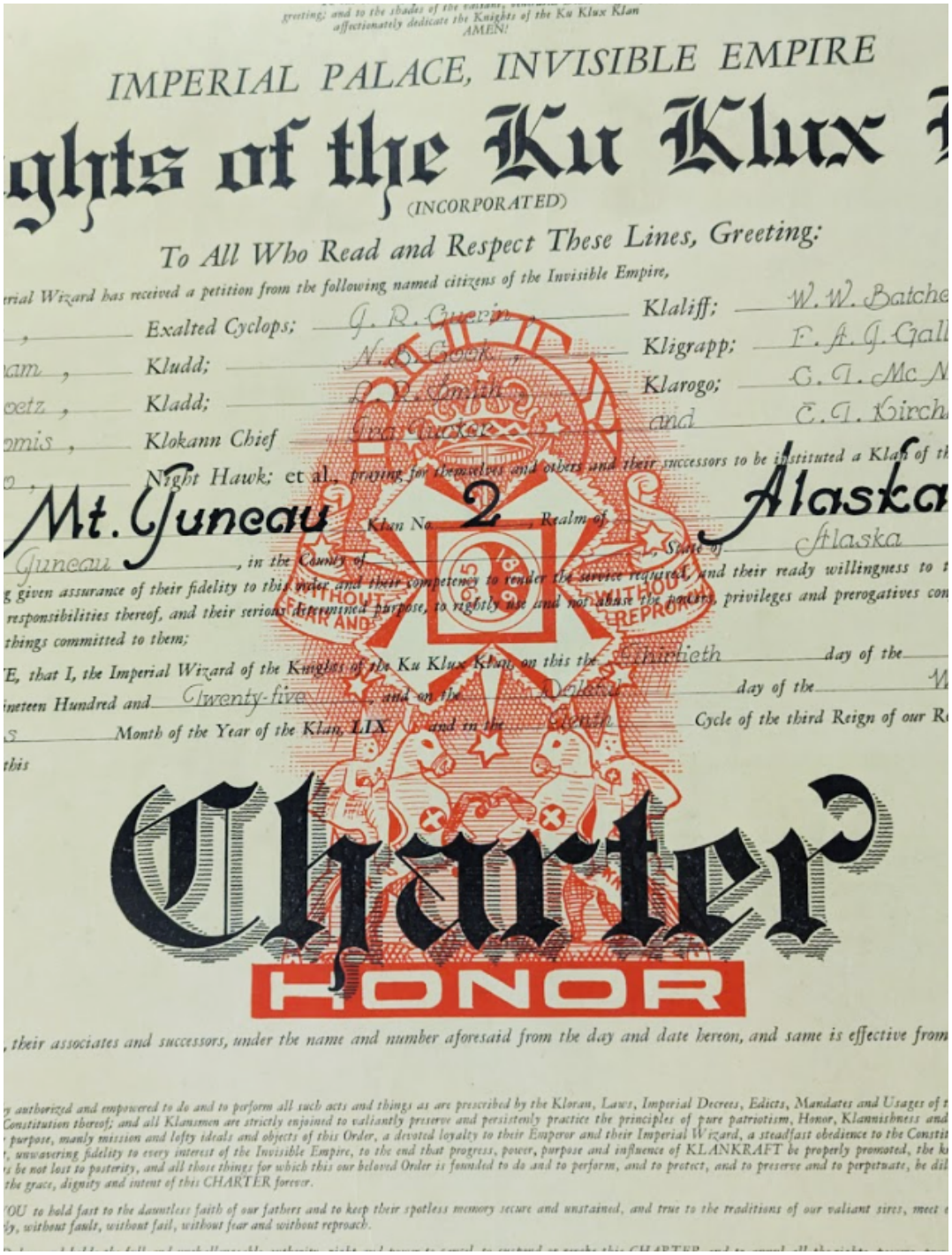
Done in the executive chambers of his Lordship, the Imperial Wizard, in the Imperial Palace in the Imperial City of Atlanta, commonwealth of Georgia, U.S.A on the day and date above written.

Certificate of Acceptance: This Certifies that above CHARTER was read to and duly adopted by above named Klan in session assembled with all stipulations and conditions here in states or implied on the 17th

day of Dec. A.D. 1925 A.K. (LIX) signed Douglas Mead (Exalted Cyclops) and witnessed by J. A. Bracewell.

By His Lordship H.W. Evans (Imperial Wizard if the Invisible Empire K of the KKK

Attest: H. H. Fourney (Imperial Kligrapp)"



(Photo taken by self of centerpiece of the Mt. Juneau Klavern no.2 Charter at the JDCM)

Like all other KKK nonsense, this came with a heavy hand and a tone of seriousness, even though it feels like just a bunch of made up nonsense (because basically it is).

When going through this I was very caught off guard by the names of those listed as "citizens of the Invisible Empire" who purposely put their names down for this and requested to be recognized as such. Those names are;

Cash Cole, Glenn Kirkham, Albert E. Goetz, Egbert Loomis, W. E. Feero, J. R. Guerin, N. B. Cook, L. R. Smith, Ira Tucker, E. F. Kirchofer, W. W. Batcheller, F.A.J. Galwas, and C.F. McNutt as listed in the order of the following roles: Exalted Cyclops, Kludd, Kladd, Klokann Chief, Night Hawk, Klaliff, Kligrapp, Klarogo, Klokann, Klokan, Klokard, Klabee, and Klexter.[185]

There is then a line for "et al of the Mount Juneau KLAN No.2" and we know also from the Capitol Weekly Neighbour's article from 2009[186], in conjunction with VCU Klan Mapping Project, that in 1925 the Mount Juneau Klan boasted maybe about 100 members by 1926 or 1931[187]. Until the original scroll can be examined to determine whether additional text exists, further Klan documents become accessible, or additional community members with relevant knowledge come forward, it will remain impossible to identify the other individuals listed on the charter as general members as opposed to those assigned designated roles. The names included though carry much weight on their own. Anyone who loves trawling through Juneau History, especially through the Chronicling America newspaper Archives, immediately may be taken aback by Cash Cole, Goetz, Feero, Guerin, and Galwas appearing here. While we will get into each individual on this list, just most of these folks are former important figure heads of Alaska Politics, Local Organizations like Pioneers of Alaska, and "upstanding" business owners and city workers for Douglas; two of these men were even the first ones to cross the first Douglas Bridge when it was completed[188]. At the time of writing this, none of the people listed, no matter how well known, have any mention of Klan Association or KKK activities in their biographies on the Pioneers of Alaska page, Wikipedia, Gastineau Channel Memories, nor any other Juneau/Alaska affiliated pages or organizations, including neither the State Museum nor Local Juneau-Douglas museum. If there are mentions/have been mentioned they have been omitted from the surface web and or basic searches.

Including if you search any of these gentleman's names on the State Archives, even though they are listed as such in the "Kinky" Bayers papers, the Kinky Paper entry related to the KKK will not populate

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[185] Bayers, "Captain Lloyd H. 'Kinky' Bayers Collection."
[186] "The Ku Klux Klan in Juneau," *Juneau Empire,* 2009
[187] Kneebone et al., *Mapping the Second Ku Klux Klan*.
[188] Craig, Laurie. "Bridge to Everywhere: Original Juneau-Douglas Crossing from 1935 Spanned Nearly Half a Century." The Juneau Empire. October 24, 2023. https://www.juneauempire.com/news/bridge-to-everywhere-original-juneau-douglas-crossing-from-1935-spanned-nearly-half-a-century/.

in searches for any of them[189]. Also at this time a photo and associated paperwork listed does not come up in any of their archives or finding aids either…

The only other times these items have come to light have also not been well archived. As mentioned there are two articles from 2009 that were in the *Neighbours Column* of the *Juneau Empire*'s now defunct *Capitol Weekly*. Part 1 only has 14 captures on the wayback machine, unfortunately none of those captures include the original pictures from the Article, which were a photo of the Mount Juneau Klan charter. The second part was only archived on the Wayback Machine ONCE via a random webcrawler.

As research for this project went on, we finally went ahead and paid a subscription to "Newspapers.com" which finally allowed us to look at the full newspaper articles as scans of the papers they were posted in. While the articles do not have any photos of the group together as we hoped was maybe included, it did have a photo of the Mount Juneau Klan charter in question. While the scan is blurry and in black and white, many of the names and aspects that Kinky had typed out in his notes were present[190]. Again, one must still pay a subscription to see this article but, thankfully it does still exist in situ outside of waybackmachine captures of it.

Currently it is unclear if any print books exist with this information provided and/or mentioned (aside from the Klan Papers of the *Kourier* and *Fellowship Forum)*. There is a lack of printed evidence in what's out there and honestly this document you are reading may be the first time this amount of information on the Mount Juneau Klan and the history of the KKK in Alaska has been put together in depth.

The group of individuals documented in this way, we know would go on to at least host two Cross Burnings in the Juneau-Douglas area, possibly sent an attache to the 1926 Klan rally in DC where "Alaska also was Represented"[191] (*The Fellowship Forum*, September 25th, 1926) as well as in later years, help host a locally grown Klan speaker. Many of them were Masons and Odd Fellows, which makes sense since the KKK liked to attach themselves to other fraternal organizations. A Number also have ties to Pioneers of Alaska. These men were also hitting the political scene in the greater territory, as well as local leadership. Some of these men's integrity I'd like to call into further question now knowing their Klan affiliations at times of some troublesome moments and local political grabs, especially in regards to events of 1926 on Douglas Island.

Again in 1922 everyone seemed so assured that no good Alaskan would join, and now it seems those "Good Alaskans" who did join have been willfully expunged of their ties to darker days.

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189 Bayers, "Captain Lloyd H. 'Kinky' Bayers Collection."
190 "The Ku Klux Klan in Juneau," *Juneau Empire,* 2009
191 "The Panama Canal Zone was represented" *The Fellowship Forum*, September 25th, 1926

While scouring the paper of the "Doleful Day" of September 30th 1925, I noted in earlier research that no regular Masonic or fraternal meetings were scheduled for that Wednesday evening, which would have made local residents more available. Although references to special ferries and other logistical details have appeared intermittently in prior research, this observation is being incorporated at this stage to provide a more complete contextual understanding of the events. Wednesday, September 30th, 1925; Reception Tonight for Morton Gregorys. "The Reception for Morton Gregory, Grand Master of Masons of the Washington Jurisdiction, and Mrs. Gregory to be held by Mount Juneau Lodge No. 127, F. and A. M. and the Juneau Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star will be at 8:30 o'clock tonight in the Odd Fellows Hall. The reception is open to all members of the Masons Lodge and of the Order of the Eastern Star and their families.

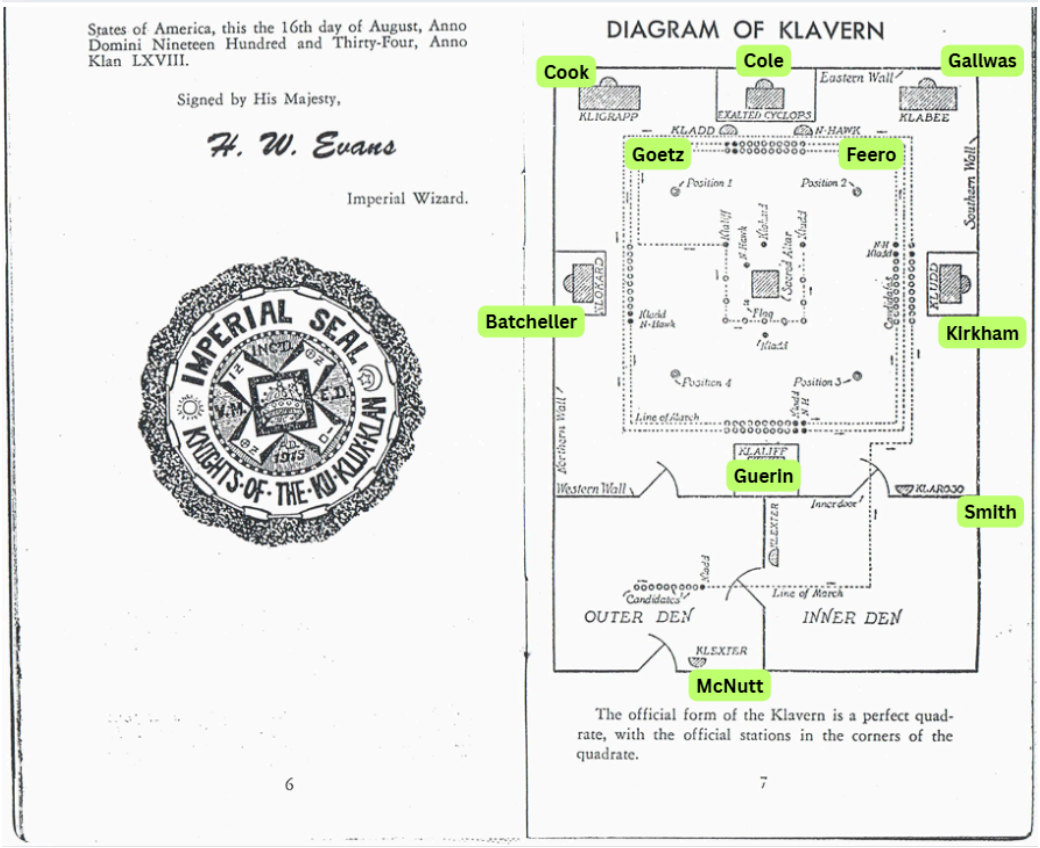
Worshipful Master Wallis S. George of the Juneau Lodge will make an address of welcome to Grand Master and Mrs. Gregory and there will be vocal and instrumental music during the evening. Officers of the Juneau and Douglas lodges will be in the receiving line with the honor guests.

Mr. and Mrs. Gregory returned today on the Eastebeth from Skagway where they visited several days while the Grand Master conducted lodge business at the White Pass Lodge."[192] Going on from here when

[192] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Reception Tonight for Morton Gregory" Juneau, Alaska, September 30, 1925

getting into the individual profiles of those who signed the Klan charter, is quite the damning event. Most of the people who signed are Masons and Odd Fellows, as are/or their wives in the corresponding auxiliary groups. I am leaning on the side that signing the Klan charter that same day, was probably a "B Plot" type event; that the meaning of the party was not all to sign the Charter, but a number of those present at the party signed the charter that same night either before, after, or maybe in a hushed office during the event. This connection of the Masons to the K.K.K. has persisted throughout the entire research of this topic.

Will also note that the Gregory's are traveling in Alaska at the same time and to the same communities Luther Powell is touting that he made his rounds to to induct Alaskan members and provide charters for, again pretty much at the exact same time and in the same communities. The next day's paper says 140 guests attended the Masonic celebration that night and that specifically, a large attendance from Douglas that evening. It even makes the Douglas Island News, "Quite a number of Masons and Eastern Stars from the Island attend the reception given in Juneau last evening for G. W. M. Morton Gregory and Mrs. Gregory"[193] followed by a special announcement requesting that Douglas Fire Department's hose companies 1 & 2 are to meet and that "all members are expected."



(Klavern Ceremonial Standing/Floor Order, names as labelled by self)

[193] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Reception Tonight for Morton Gregory" Juneau, Alaska, October 1, 1925

“Lily Whites” verses the “Illiterate Native”

If, in 1922, Troy openly denounced the Ku Klux Klan in the newspapers, but by 1926 allowed the *Empire* to publish articles on “White Only” tickets[194], contributed his own editorials on similar topics, and even permitted Klan advertisements later on; what factors might have influenced this apparent shift in attitude? Can one be pro-white man’s party and be anti-KKK?

The rise and fall of Klan activity in Alaska appears closely linked to anxieties surrounding the political and social mobility of Native populations and their participation in local elections. As previously discussed in an earlier section; Luther Powell’s statements[195] in the Seward papers in 1925 parallel other contemporary reporting on Native voting, reflecting a broader national pattern against minorities. Similar to the treatment of Black voters in other parts of the United States[196]; Native voters were often portrayed as insufficiently educated or inherently susceptible to corruption. Such attitudes suggested that granting political rights to these groups could dilute the influence of established white political parties and, in the minds of Klan supporters and like-minded elites, risk destabilizing the foundations of American democracy by allowing “illiterate” populations to exercise power.

It is important to note that Alaska Natives faced widespread disenfranchisement prior to 1924. However, a key legal shift occurred with the enactment of the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 on June 2 of that year, which declared that all non-citizen Indigenous peoples born within the territorial limits of the United States were henceforth recognized as U.S. citizens.[197]

The context leading up to this legislation highlights the tensions surrounding Native suffrage. In March 1923, the Alaska Territorial House debated a proposed literacy bill, intended to regulate voter eligibility. An article from the *Alaska Daily Empire* (March 16, 1923) reported the following:

> “The question of who is to be judge of the literacy of the voters was raised by Mr. Cole, who seemed to doubt the advisability of leaving it to judges of the elections. While Mr. Foster said the bill might be amended to provide otherwise, Mr. Keys declared that there was no such cause for amendment, that election officials who judge other qualifications of the voters can be safely entrusted with the enforcement of the literacy test. Mr. Polley took the same view… The franchise, he argued, is the citizen’s greatest privilege, in that it is the

[194] *Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, April 8, 1925.
[195] Major L. R. Powell, Imperial Representative. *Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.* Seward, Alaska, 1925.
[196] *Black Americans and the Vote*, National Archives, https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/vote
[197] “Indian Citizenship Act of 1924.” Immigration History, August 25, 2019. https://immigrationhistory.org/item/1924-indian-citizenship-act/.

> exercise of his right to vote as he wants and not as he is told… 'Stuff' that is rotten has been pulled off in elections by manipulation of the Indian vote, he asserted. 'Are you for rotten politics or clean politics?' he asked in conclusion."[198]

Opposition to the bill came from W. L. Paul, Grand Secretary of the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) and a leading Native political advocate, who challenged the legislation as politically motivated. Paul argued that the literacy test was not designed to improve voting quality but rather to suppress Native political influence: "The purpose of the bill… was not to exclude illiterate voters but to reduce the number of voters… If this bill is passed, Dan Sutherland will not be the next delegate to Congress."

Other representatives, such as Decker, questioned both the legality and fairness of the literacy requirement, emphasizing that Native illiteracy resulted not from inherent incapacity but from systemic neglect:

> "He admitted that the principle embodied in the measure is right but opposed its application to the Indians, who… are illiterate through the neglect of the country as a whole… He voiced resentment at what he termed the attitude of members who implied that those who opposed the literacy test are in favor of rotten politics."

The debate over literacy tests continued through 1924, reflected both in editorials and political commentary in Troy's *Alaska Daily Empire* and Paul's *Alaska Fisherman*. For example, the *Empire* observed:

> "The mass voting of Indians has been made a leading issue by four of the candidates on the Republican ticket… Claiming that a second ticket was put in the field largely by Indian influences and was receiving the undivided support of Indian leaders, they have urged the White voters to awake to what they assert is a real and vital danger from attempted Indian domination of government in Southeastern Alaska."[199] (*Alaska Daily Empire*, April 28, 1924)

Similarly, Paul's newspaper criticized the literacy test as both illegal and discriminatory:

> "The courts have already decided that the legislature has no right or power to pass any test whatever… The literacy test is un-American and cannot be supported historically… The

[198] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Hearings Open In House Upon Literacy Bill" Juneau, Alaska, March 16, 1923
[199] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Heavy Primary Vote Forecast; Interest Keen" Juneau, Alaska, April 28, 1924

> demand for a literacy test comes almost entirely from the Juneau Empire and for the express purpose of stopping Indians from voting. The Juneau Empire is a strong Democratic paper. The Indians are voting the Republican ticket. Would it not be a fine stroke if the Empire could decrease by law the Republican vote by several hundreds?"[200] (*Alaska Fisherman*, October 15, 1924)

In 1925, the same year that the Ku Klux Klan of Juneau-Douglas was officially being organized with the assistance of Major Luther Powell, the *Juneau Empire* published an op-ed titled, "A WHITE MAN'S PARTY IS NECESSARY." While key points of this piece have already been addressed in the section on Powell, the article itself underscores the racial anxieties driving Klan activity in the region. It opens with a striking statement:

> "Not only is the large illiterate Indian vote of this section of Alaska, including approximately 20 per cent of the entire vote of the First Division, and likely to be expanded much beyond that in spite of the literacy test measure, in the hands of a single ambitious politician as dictator, a menace to the Territory, but it threatens local municipal and school government in sections of Southeastern Alaska."[201]

In response, W. L. Paul, writing in the July 15, 1925, edition of *The Alaska Fisherman*, sharply criticized both the premise and the racial framing of the Empire's editorial:

> "The only issue left to John W. Troy, editor of the *Juneau Empire*, is this: 'There must be a White Man's Party.' Not a word is left of other issues like full Territorial government, home rule on fisheries, and other formerly important concerns. 'We must have a White Man's Party,' says Mr. Troy. And who will lead it but Troy of the Empire. The leadership of any movement to create discord and race hatred may well be left to persons of his kind. Those who know him best will understand that there are tests that even the lily-white Troy cannot well undergo."[202]

The 1926 election in Alaska was particularly fraught with racialized rhetoric, partisan agitation, and continued back-and-forth tensions between political factions. W. L. Paul, in his papers, consistently

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[200] *The Alaska Fisherman*, "The Literacy Test" Juneau, Alaska, October 15, 1923
[201] *Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, April 8, 1925
[202] *The Alaska Fisherman*, "White Man's Party" Juneau, Alaska, July 15, 1925

criticized what he viewed as the unjust targeting of Native voters, producing both extensive editorials and shorter pieces. For example, in *The Alaska Fisherman* on February 15, 1926, he wrote:

> "In an editorial of the *Juneau Empire*, the Indians are informed that it will appeal to the white people to vote as white people until such time as the Indian learns to vote as a unit and not as a race. When will that time come, and how will we know that it has come? Suppose, for instance, in the next election the Indians should all vote for the candidates of the *Juneau Empire*, what then? Will the Empire tell the world that Alaska is going to the dogs? Or will the Empire immediately join the Republican party and oppose candidates supported by Indians? The public will not be fooled. It is not the mass voting of the Indians that the Empire objects to. It is merely because the mass is not on the side of the Empire."[203]

Later that year, in August 1926, the *Juneau Empire* itself issued warnings aimed at white voters, asserting that Native Alaskans were not true Republicans and that their political engagement threatened the dominance of white-led parties. The paper stated:

> "Their fight against the fusion of Republicans and Democrats into a white man's party is due to their disappointment in not being able to keep the white people divided into two parties that they might defeat them in piecemeal. They are not Republicans."[204]

And further:

> "ONLY ONE THING TO DO—VOTE THE WHITE TICKET. The Indian leaders are bragging that the solid Indian bloc will vote as usual this year en masse for their boss-picked candidates. That being the case, the white people of Southeastern Alaska should vote as a solid white bloc for the white ticket. The only way to eliminate the race issue in Alaska is to overwhelmingly defeat the Indians who introduced it as the main political problem in the Territory."[205]

While the Ku Klux Klan is never explicitly mentioned in this discourse, William Paul repeatedly labels John W. Troy and his allies as "Lily-Whites" in multiple articles. The Lily-White movement, originating in the late 1800s and continuing into the 1920s, was an explicitly anti-Black political faction within the Republican Party. As Heersink and Jenkins note in *Whiteness and the Emergence of the Republican Party in the Early Twentieth-Century South* (2020), during Reconstruction Black leaders in the South gained

[203] *The Alaska Fisherman*, "What is Mass Voting" Juneau, Alaska, February 15, 1926
[204] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "They Are Not Republicans" Juneau, Alaska, August 18, 1926
[205] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Vote the White Ticket" Juneau, Alaska, August 23, 1926

political influence by organizing Black voters as a bloc through Union Leagues and biracial party factions. Conservative whites, in response, sought to reduce this influence. The Lily-White movement successfully curtailed Black political power while helping to expand the Republican Party's presence in the South.[206] If the Klan, or ideas associated with it, migrated north of the Mason-Dixon Line to Alaska, it is likely that related terminology, such as "Lily-White," traveled as well. In this context, the term could additionally function as a descriptor for someone considered "pure white."

A 1930 *Washington Post* article enumerating Klan membership by state indicates that Alaska had 31 known members in 1926, which doubled to 62 in 1927, peaked at 103 in 1928, and then sharply declined to 23 in 1929 and 17 in 1930[207]. Some debate exists over whether these figures represent the Territory as a whole or primarily the Juneau-Douglas area. Nevertheless, the pattern closely mirrors the ebb and flow of public discourse and anxieties surrounding Native voting and Paul's political influence during the period.

A further account from November 1926 highlights harassment in the Chicken Ridge district, adjacent to Starr Hill:

"A striking evidence of the methods displayed by the Lily Whites in trying to prevent the Natives from voting on Nov. 2, was given in the Chicken Ridge precinct of Juneau. When five Natives who had previously voted in other elections sought to cast their ballots, they were challenged and subjected to all kinds of intimidating remarks, participated in by two challengers, a corporation lawyer and 'Popgun' Pegues. They were not content to have the Election Judge impress them with the penalty for illegal voting but harped on sending them to jail and insinuating that they had not voted as they stated."[208]

My research partner has compiled a separate addendum of all available newspaper clippings related to Native voting during this period, with a primary focus on the Juneau-Douglas area. We plan to release this addendum alongside this paper or include it in a companion installment, as our broader research into the Ku Klux Klan revealed numerous related offshoots, ideas, and issues connected to the Klan, its members, and those who shared similar beliefs.

Such as around the time of the Douglas fire of 1926, which largely took out the Douglas Indian Village in addition to parts of Treadwell and St. Anns Avenue of Douglas. It effectively eliminated a large block of potential Native voters. Judge James Wickersham noted this in his diary on October 11–12th:

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[206] Heersink, Boris, and Jeffery A. Jenkins. 2020. "Whiteness and the Emergence of the Republican Party in the Early Twentieth-Century South." *Studies in American Political Development* 34 (1): 71–90. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0898588X19000208

[207] Lawrence Wayne Moores Jr., *The History of the Ku Klux Klan in Maine, 1922–1931* (Master's thesis, University of Maine, 1950), 25

[208] *The Alaska Fisherman*, "Their Unfairness to the Native" Juneau, Alaska, November 15, 1926

"Big fire at Treadwell destroyed the Indian town & many of them will move away – & thus Sutherland will lose many votes! May be."

Whickersham does not provide further commentary on the 1926 Douglas fire or those affected by it in his diaries.[209] At present, this claim cannot be independently confirmed- but two other researchers have suggested to me that Whickersham may have had affiliations with the Ku Klux Klan. Given his extensive interactions with Cash Cole and the support Cole reportedly sought from him, such a connection would not be surprising. Currently, it remains unclear whether Whickersham was an actual member of the Klan or merely affiliated with its network. But, out of everything that happened during that event, what an odd thing to zero in on on his part.

Klansman Kash Kole - the Exalted Cyclops

Looking up his profile on Pioneer of Alaska Igloo 6's data base gives the following condensed version of his life,

"Clarence 'Cash' Cole was President of Juneau Men's Igloo in 1938. Cole was born at Henderson Bay, Washington on February 12, 1891. He moved to Treadwell with his parents when he was four years old. He was educated in Juneau public schools and attended the University of Minnesota. After leaving college Mr. Cole entered the business field at Juneau where he engaged in draying, docking and contracting. He was the president and general manager of the Cole Transfer Company and local agent for the American Express Company.

He married Ruby C. Worth in Juneau on March 7, 1915. They had three sons, James Cash Cole on June 25, 1916, Thomas Phillip Cole on June 23, 1917 and Jerry Worth Cole on March 22, 1926. At some point prior to 1940 he was divorced from Ruby. He remarried on January 20, 1945 to Ruth Marcella Marsh Gudbranson.

He was elected to the 5th House of Representatives Territorial Legislature in 1921 and reelected to the 6th House, where he was elected Speaker. He served as Territorial Auditor from 1929 to 1932.

He was a Republican and member of the Elks. Cash Cole died on November 8, 1959 in Bellingham, Washington."[210]

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[209] James Wickersham, *Diary of James Whickersham*. Vol. Diary 37. Juneau, Alaska: Alaska State Library - Historical Collections, 1926. https://library.alaska.gov/hist/hist_docs/wickersham/ASL-MS0107-diaries1900-1941.pdf

[210] Dorene Lorenz - Editor, "Cole, Clarence Cash - Pioneers of Alaska Juneau Igloo." Pioneers of Alaska - Juneau, n.d. https://poajuneau.nationbuilder.com/cole_clarence_cash.

To which site editor, Dorene Lorenz, attributes this information coming from the Biographies of Alaska Yukon Pioneers[211]. Upon getting our own copy of the book it truly is a very cut dry version of his life that does skip over a few details about his time in Alaska, especially in politics, and most notably; no mention of him being the "Exalted Cyclops" nor leadership of the Mount Juneau Klan no. 2; which can be easily found in the "Kinky" Bayers papers. His entry though does lay out the ground work we see in most of these signatories lives; most are Republican, Protestant, have ties to Douglas, and are politically engaged as well as fraternally in Alaska. When compared with the treatment of other prominent American politicians who maintained ties to the Ku Klux Klan, this omission appears to be a deliberate oversight. For instance, Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia has an entire section devoted to his Klan involvement on his Wikipedia page; moreover, regardless of whether people prefer not to acknowledge it, this aspect of his biography is widely known within West Virginia. Although Byrd later expressed regret for his participation, such contrition does not negate the fact that he was once deeply involved in the organization[212]. This context is worth bearing in mind as we examine these individuals.

While *The Empire* was at proverbial war with the Klan in the papers back in 1922, same year Cash Cole would be working towards winning the Popular vote on Referendum for Alaska Governor (1923). It's also in 1922 we have that mention of Cash Cole and his wife entertaining Governor Riggs and their own guest, "a writer named Powell"[213].

In 1924 Cash steadied himself to run for Governor. As the *Seward Daily Gateway* from January 10th, 1924 reports from *The Empire*,

"Cash Cole, prominent Juneau business man, a resident of Alaska for 28 years, and speaker of the house in the last session of the territorial legislature, is being urged to file for governor of Alaska, subject to the referendum which will be given by the voters at the April primary. The referendum was authorized by the territorial legislature and while it is not finding, students of politics say the man who gets the people's endorsement at the primary is certain to be tamed governor by presidential appointment. Announcement that Mr. Cole has been persuaded to make the race was recently published In *The Cordova Times* edited by Harry G. Steel, who is a candidate for delegate to the Republican national convention which meets in Cleveland this year to nominate the party's standard bearer."[214]

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[211] Ferrell, Ed. *Biographies of Alaska-Yukon Pioneers, 1850–1950*. Vol. 3. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 1997. p. 66

[212] Peter Carlson, "Robert Byrd Consorts With a KKK Grand Dragon," *HistoryNet*, September 28, 2017. https://www.historynet.com/robert-byrd-consorts-kkk-grand-dragon/?f

[213] Thomas Riggs, *Diary*, 1921–1922, Alaska State Archives

[214] *The Seward Daily Gateway*, "Juneau Man Being Put In Light As a Possibility to Fill the Governor's Chair." Seward, Alaska, January 10, 1924

January 11th Cole makes a brief trip to Ketchikan, in which *the Empire* credits him to being an American Railway Express Co. Agent[215]. On his return ship he is actually aboard with W. D. Gross of the Gross Alaskan Theatre's and one of the Tuckers[216]. January 18th of 1924 it is reported that Cash Cole is seeking Gubernatorial Honors, saying he has both the support of Wickersham and Sutherland. The article goes on to say that,

"Mr. Cole's Candidacy is the first even undertaken in the Territory for gubernatorial honors."[217] At this point in time he is 33 years old and has already been elected to the Republican ticket to the Territorial House of Representatives for 1921 and 1923 and was speaker in 1923. He claims he is in accord with Delegate Sutherland's position on being opposed to fisheries reserves; believing that the closed season law on salmon fishing points the way to Territorial regulation of the fisheries, and the Territorial Legislatures can handle them along the same line. The same article says that he is a close personal friend of Whickersham and of Delegate Sutherland. Which if you read Whickersham's diary entries during the 20s, skimming sections for "Cash Cole" shows a semi tumultuous relationship between Whickersham, Cole, Sutherland and William Paul; arguments included.

There is worry that year that he may run un-opposed for the Republican ticket, catching some people off guard. By the end of January George D. Schofield throws his hat in the ring to run against Cole for the Republican Ticket, later we'll see Emery Valentine join in as well[218]. In February it is reported that Cash is in Seattle,

"Youthful speaker of the last House of the Territorial Legislature, who is seeking to be the first Governor of Alaska by Selection at a popular vote, is a visitor here on business."[219] By March he filed the "Square Deal Ticket" with F. Wolland for Mayor, W. J. Lievers and George Jorgenson for Councilmen and Rev. Charles E. Rice for School Director[220]. Again he's helping file the ticket for them, but from this article it's unclear that he himself actually isn't running, just endorsing?

On May 1st in Troy's own editorial section of The Daily Alaskan Empire he writes, "One of the outstanding features of the Gastineau Channel primary election was the handsome vote given Emery Valentine in the preference for Governor race. He carried eight of out of nine precincts, and led his nearest opponent, former Speaker Cash Cole by more than two to one in Juneau and on the Channel."[221] Ultimately we see him spending most of the Fall out of the papers, aside from trying extensively to rent out an apartment. Going into Judge James Whickersham's papers we see in February him staying loyal to

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[215] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, January 10, 1924
[216] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, January 17, 1924
[217] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Gubernatorial Honors Sought by Cash Cole", Juneau, Alaska, January 18, 1924
[218] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Schofield Will Oppose Cole in Preference Run", Juneau, Alaska, January 30, 1924
[219] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Cash Cole Visiting in Seattle; Business Trip", Juneau, Alaska, February 26, 1924
[220] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Eleventh Hour Ticket Enters City Election", Juneau, Alaska, March 27, 1924
[221] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Primary Election", Juneau, Alaska, May 1, 1924

Cole even when asked by another to endorse him instead. We read of Cole being a frequent visitor in his office, hashing out political plans with Wolland, Rustgard, Will Steel and others[222]. It is around this time we also William Paul enter his diaries more, also coming to his office to speak on issues.

In November it is reported that:

"Cash Cole is the only candidate for preference choice for Governor. He defeated Emery Valentine and George D. Schofield for the Republican nomination in the April primaries, being credited with having the support of Delegate Sutherland and the Paul machine. The Democrats entered no candidates for the preferential vote, party leaders claiming it would have no meaning and no weight with any national administration that might attain power."[223]

This very paragraph is quite important in the long run of the story we wish to share and think must be told, especially in mind to "the Paul machine." as this ties into the greater discussion of the Indian vote at this time, alliances drawn and destroyed over it, and a culminating factor that will have its own section on how this may be what drove some of the KKK actions.

On Valentines day of 1924 Cole says to the papers that "Well, it looks as if the fight had just begun."[224] when it comes out that George A. Parks is to be appointed as Territorial Governor, and would be Alaska's State Territorial Governor from 1925 till 1933. It's a very messy timeline of what's in the papers vs what Whickersham is jotting down in his diary entries. In May Whickersham wrote,

"Undertook to persuade Cash Cole, who received plurality vote for Governor at preferential primary election but he refuses to consider any alliance or organization with John W. Frame, who was elected National Republican Committeeman for Alaska, or with John Rustgard, who was nominated for attorney general! Poor Cash, he is going to fight those who elected him - & will end by joining the Faulkners - big interest crowd, will fail to be appointed governor, or else make a mess of things generally!"[225]

Cole manages to stay out of the papers for a bit after his big loss, despite still hanging around in 1925. We see in Whickersham's diary a number of Cash Cole mentions in 1925 that don't necessarily make the papers. In February of 1925 Whickersham writes, "I could not oppose Cash Cole, and had written a letter to the President suggesting the necessary qualifications for a Governor at this time - and that I would not

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[222] James Wickersham, *Diary of James Wickersham*, vol. 37 (Juneau, AK: Alaska State Library, 1924)
[223] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Names of Candidates", Juneau, Alaska, November 3, 1924
[224] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, February 13, 1924
[225] James Wickersham, *Diary of James Wickersham*, vol. 37 (Juneau, AK: Alaska State Library, 1924)

be candidate. Wm F. Paul called at the boat at Ketchikan to talk about a contest, which his enemies are threatening over his election as Rep. in the Legislature!"

On the "Doleful Day" the Klan charter is signed (September 30th, 1925), while Cole in general has remained out of the papers; that same day it is reported that the Worth brothers had just arrived in town and plan to stay in Alaska indefinitely. This is Cash Cole's wife's brothers, brothers of Ruby Cole. Also randomly noted in the blurb is that George Worth "resided in Juneau several years ago and was prominent in the local Channel baseball field."[226] Cole and his family don't pop up again until October 21st, where he has a tenor vocal solo during the Elk's Lodge large meeting and performance that night. Later on in the month he is also included in the line up for the Elks Minstrel show, a promised night of "Jazzy Songs. O'd Time Favorites Will Be Sung"[227].

Unfortunately, several sections touch not only on these individuals' shared love of music through church choirs, but also on their participation in Minstrel Shows; forms of entertainment that, while common at the time, were steeped in racist caricature. Although such performances were widely accepted by many white audiences, they were nonetheless harmful and offensive even then. The show that Cash appears in also features "Princess Eiyknoaal and Marcus Swengala."[228] While modern searches yield no results for either performer, archival newspapers suggest that "Princess" Eiyknoaal was a novelty sideshow artist billed as a supposed descendant of Hawaiian royalty and a mind reader, of course. Reports note that the Elks brought her and her manager from Seattle as part of their "Grand World Tour," yet she appears only in Alaskan papers in connection with this event. Marcus "Swengala" seems to have had a similarly localized presence. Also as a side note that Cash's gas boat, which he frequently used, was named *The Jazz*[229]; which is a genre of music he had apparent affinity for.

Cash is frequently in the Chorus on these Elk Minstrel shows through 1925; It's also by 1925, it becomes noticeable that the Cole family never *seems* to have used St. Ann's Hospital for regular visits, even though it was at one point just down the street from their home[230]. All of the children seemingly were born at home, and the family went to Seattle for any other medical needs. None of this is especially unusual for the time, but it is interesting that they consistently avoided St. Ann's unless something was drastically wrong and Mr. Cole is out of town; like Ruby (Mrs. Cash Cole) tragically losing what would have been their fourth son[231] due to some unspecified complication[232], while Cash himself was out of town

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[226] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, September 30, 1925
[227] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Melody Night Now Promised Minstrel Show", Juneau, Alaska, October 31, 1925
[228] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Special Act Secured for Elks' Event", Juneau, Alaska, October 26, 1925
[229] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, August 10, 1926
[230] City and Borough of Juneau. *Juneau's Historic Neighborhoods*. Vol. 1. Juneau, AK: Community Development Department, 1986.
[231] Death Certificates, 11-A (Juneau), Juneau, Alaska, 1932–1934, record for *Robert Cole*, June 5, 1933
[232] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Mrs. Cash Cole is Patient at St. Ann's", Juneau, Alaska, June 5, 1933

in Seattle with a stomach ulcer issue[233]. This might have had something to do with the widespread distrust of Catholics among many Protestant Americans, not just within the KKK, or it could simply reflect the kinds of services St. Ann's was offered during those years. Given other events later in the Star Hill area, it is something to note.

As we move into 1926, newspaper coverage of Cole continues to center mainly on his involvement in Elks performances and ceremonies. However, in January entries from Wickersham's diary, Cole appears visiting Wickersham's office to discuss the Republican candidate for Delegate to Congress. Wickersham notes that he assured Cole of his support should he decide to run in the April primaries, writing:

"Frank Aldrich is considering becoming a candidate but Cash is the better candidate & I would much rather see him run than Frank. Final consideration must be had at once for Tuesday Feb. 2 is the last day to file the papers. I am, and have long been, dissatisfied with Sutherland and will not vote for him again, and will support Cash on a platform for Statehood."[234] Followed up by later in the month,

"if some of his friends at Cordova do not file as they agreed to do. I am not sure that Frank can beat Dan Sutherland in the primaries. Cash Cole was inclined to file, but he has waited before acting till he could talk to his supporters - while Frank filed first, and will now talk to his supporters. Cash may not file in consequence!"

Throughout February, Wickersham's diary continues to mention Cole's alternating excitement and disappointment regarding the race. Finally, on March 29, 1926, Cash Cole officially files and heads "The People's Ticket" for Mayor of Juneau[235]. Again at this time he is the Exalted Cyclops of Mount Juneau Klan. As of September of 1925 he's signed on, there is a possible cross burning between the "Doleful Day" and by the end of 1926, as discussed later, and in December of 1926 they get their Charter recognized in some manner according to Klan Mapping information data held at VCU.

As Brian Palmer put it for the *History News Network* the role of Exalted Cyclops is,

"He presides over the Council of the Centaurs and writes quarterly reports to the Grand Giant. In the Klan hierarchy, each local chapter, or Klavern, is led by an Exalted Cyclops. This member is typically elected by his fellow Klansmen and serves a one-year term. According to the original 1867 Prescript of the Ku Klux Klan, the Exalted Cyclops reports to a Grand Giant, or provincial leader; a Grand Dragon, or state director; and the Grand Wizard, or national chair. Below the Cyclops on the org chart were the Grand Magi, the Grand Monk, the Grand Exchequer, the Grand Turk, and, finally, the rank-and-file members known as Ghouls or Knights. (Many of these titles have changed over time, and most of the

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[233] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Cash Cole Ill at Home of Brother in Seattle, Improving", Juneau, Alaska, June 6, 1933
[234] James Wickersham, *Diary of James Wickersham*, vol. 37 (Juneau, AK: Alaska State Library, 1926)
[235] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "The City Election", Juneau, Alaska, March 31, 1926

sub-Cyclops ranks have been eliminated.) The Exalted Cyclops' responsibilities include presiding over Klavern meetings, initiating new members, and appointing Councils of Centaurs—that's Klan-speak for a jury—to try and punish wayward Ghouls."[236]

From reading the *K-UNO* and *Kloran* instructional papers of the 1920s, the EC really does act like any other fraternal president in having the final say and final authority of the Klavern and is heavily involved in the rituals of initiation and maintaining member loyalty[237]. All report to him. A trend we also see is that by the late 1920s typically the same person can be kept as "EC" for several years and not just one.

In the 1926 City Election Cash files "The People's Ticket", running for Mayor. The People's Ticket in 1926 ran on the campaign promise of "Clean Living, Clean Town, Clean Government."[238] Cash Cole for Mayor and then Frank L. Garnick, Wilfred J. Lievers, and Douglas A. Mead for Councilmen. (Douglas Mead is also a witness signature on the Klan Charter). Which given the events that will play out that year and discussed in a separate section on the "Lily Whites of Juneau" vs the Indian Vote of "Paul's machine" is kind of a poignant campaign promise title.

It is also worth noting that Wilfred J. Lievers, according to the *People's Ticket* filing announcement, had long been associated with the Winter & Pond studio and store; home to some of Juneau's most prominent photographers, who documented nearly every aspect of the city's history. This connection raises a curious question: despite their omnipresence behind the camera, there appear to be no surviving photographs in any newspaper coverage of Klan activity, including cross burnings. There are, however, persistent references to a group photograph said to exist, reportedly seen only by Mac Metcalf through "a friend of his."[239] One can't help but wonder: who would have taken and developed that photo? Lievers also dabbles in amateur moving film, as mentioned in conjunction with an Elks and Moose party[240] in September that year.

The 1926 Municipal Election brings in over 1,000 registered voters to the rolls[241]. By April first their "People's Ticket" starts appearing as advertisements in the local paper. Between the campaigning hub-bub Cash still finds time to sing at the Presbyterian Church services at Douglas for Easter. Then on April 7th it is announced that the opposing Ticket, "The Citizen's Ticket" is the winning one in the overall election, reinstating Mayor J. J. Connors[242].

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[236] Brian Palmer, "What Does an Exalted Cyclops Do?," *History News Network*, June 30, 2010, https://www.hnn.us/article/brian-palmer-what-does-an-exalted-cyclops-do
[237] Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Kloran*, 8th ed. (Atlanta, GA: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1934)
[238] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "The People's Ticket", Juneau, Alaska, April 2, 1926
[239] "The Ku Klux Klan in Juneau," *Juneau Empire,* 2009
[240] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Elks and Moose Tangle Antlers", Juneau, Alaska, September 23, 1926
[241] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, March, 1926
[242] *The Seward Daily Gateway*, "Connors, Mayor of Juneau", Seward, Alaska, April 7, 1926

Aside from more choir performances and assisting in an Elk's funeral service he disappears from the papers after his sore loss. Sometime in June we know he is once again bothering Judge Whickersham as he writes in his diary on June 10th, "In court part of the day - busy in office. Steel, Rustgard, Wolland and I met in my office, formed the Coolidge Republican Club, elected Wolland, Pres., Cash Cole, Sec. Passed a strong Resolution and directed the President to telegraph it to the President, Coolidge, protesting against appointment of "carpet baggers" to office in Alaska."[243] He does get a break in August where his Gas Boat, the *Jazz,* is chosen to help deliver mail for the Juneau-Chichagof-Sitka route.

Since being more politically engaged with broader interests on the Juneau side, Cash doesn't come up in regards to the 1926 Douglas fire in any way, directly. One would have hoped that being a store owner, boat captain, and local Elks leader he'd maybe chip in one way or another, but it doesn't come up. Only time he's even mentioned in October of 1926 is in Ads about Masks for an upcoming Masquerade Ball that they can be purchased at the "New Store" next to his own[244].

That same month, on October 25, 1926, the Juneau Independent Voters held a large rally for Marquam and Shattuck at the Coliseum in Juneau. The speakers included T. A. Marquam; campaigning for Allen Shattuck (Delegate to Congress), himself (Senator), and N. O. Hardy (Representative). The event drew a significant crowd, including Mayor J. J. Connors, former mayor Emery Valentine, and many figures connected to the Juneau Chamber of Commerce, City Council, Territorial Legislature, and the Alaska-Juneau Mine. The rally even featured a torchlight and automobile parade through town[245]. In Whickersham's diary this whole affair apparently sends Cash into a conniption fit;

"Cash Cole came up to my office as soon as the parade started & abused Sutherland - as a friend - but he is constantly doing it - & is worse than an enemy. Cash is getting very cranky - because, he says, Dan would not appoint him Governor! As if Dan could have appointed him! Cash is an awful grouch - a fool and an ingrate! Undoubtedly Marquam will have a great audience all Sutherland men are going, & Tom's friends will claim all of them, too, as Toms supporters. A little cheap noise affects some people peculiarly. Cash assures me that Marquam will carry Skagway, Haines, Juneau, Douglas, Petersburg, Tenakee & Ketchikan, etc. etc. While that is quite possible I will not be half as happy to see Dan carry them as Cash is in anticipation that Marquam will carry them! The Marquam forces, of course, have a large campaign fund of Cannery money - and it is possible they may elect their man but I do not yet believe it."[246]

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[243] James Wickersham, *Diary of James Wickersham*, vol. 37 (Juneau, AK: Alaska State Library, 1926)
[244] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "For the Big Masque Ball", Juneau, Alaska, October 29, 1926
[245] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Juneau Voters Give Marquam Fine Ovation", Juneau, Alaska, October 26, 1926
[246] James Wickersham, *Diary of James Wickersham*, vol. 37 (Juneau, AK: Alaska State Library, 1926)

It's in 1926 through Whickersham's diary entries we start to see the weaselly and quick to anger side of Cash. Honestly these clashing personality types, like Cash Cole's, are the type of interpersonal issues and temperaments that ultimately slow the Ku Klux Klan's roll a bit across the United States in the 30s. A lot of hot tempered people who are extremely self centered, all vying for more power in ways they think they deserve.

Dan Sutherland pleas with Whickersham to come to Ketchikan that October as Marquam is threatening to sue for libel and feels he needs to speak on the issue, in the same entry; "Cash Cole is fighting Dan openly! because Dan did not appoint him Governor two years ago- the fool! His father came in to see me today & told that he had a row with Mrs. Cole, who is also opposing Dan - I asked 'Chips' to say nothing more & if they began it again just to walk away." Cash Cole, as briefly mentioned in the beginning of all this, does divorce his first wife and later remarries a different woman[247]. I think this is one of those instances we can see maybe why.

Beginning of 1927 things slowed down immediately even more for the Cole's. Another section will cover the further intensities around the election that year. Otherwise he and his wife are still singing at different choir events. They pick back up in March when Cash Cole is made Clerk of the House; getting the vote due to the "Paul-Smith Combination"[248]. *The Daily Empire* reports, "Cash Cole, twice a member of the Legislature and once Speaker of the House as Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives, the machinery of the Eight Legislature ought to work Efficiently."[249] This causes him to get some wind back in his sails, and by the end of March he files once again to run for Mayor of Juneau[250]. While he offers no clear plan or platform at first, stating only that "we have filed for the interest of the people of Juneau and are working for the growth and business development of our city"[251] his campaign eventually adopted the slogan *"Vote It Straight."* The ticket includes Cole for Mayor, joined by returning council candidates Homer Nordling, H. T. Tripp, and Charles G. Warner. Cole ultimately loses the mayoral race, though both Warner and Tripp are elected to the council[252].

Back to singing in the Choir he goes, and at one point he, alongside Marie Drake and Percy Pond, are interviewed asking if they support a new school building bond. Cash says he is for the school bond issue and hopes it passes[253].

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[247] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Cash Cole, Ruth M. Gudbranson to Wed", Juneau, Alaska, January 24, 1945
[248] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Ross Temporary Speaker", Juneau, Alaska, March 7, 1927
[249] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Eight Legislature Organized", Juneau, Alaska, March 8, 1927
[250] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, April 1, 1927
[251] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Citizens Ticket Filed Yesterday, City Election", Juneau, Alaska, March 31, 1927
[252] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Thomas Judson Elected Mayor; Cole Defeated", Juneau, Alaska, April 6, 1927
[253] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "School Bonds to Carry Big is Prediction", Juneau, Alaska, April 18, 1927

Judge James Whickersham clips from the Daily Alaskan Empire an article from May 31st of 1927 about the salary of secretary and overtime items are held to be invalid in court[254]. Basically In a 1927 ruling in Juneau, U.S. District Judge T.M. Reed upheld nearly all of Alaska's Territorial Legislature's recent appropriations, but struck down two key items: the Territorial salary of Secretary Karl Theile and overtime pay for legislative clerks and stenographers. Reed ruled that the Secretary of the Territory, being a federal officer appointed by the President, could not legally receive any additional salary or hold any office under the Territorial government. However, since Theile had long performed Territorial duties since 1913, the judge recognized him as a de facto officer, allowing the Territory to continue paying necessary office and clerical expenses until a proper legal ouster occurred.

The court also barred payments for legislative overtime, declaring that those employees were already compensated under federal law and that their pay could not be increased by the Territorial Legislature. This decision directly affected staff under House Clerk Cash Cole, who had estimated that the women in his office had worked 572 hours of overtime during the legislative session, time that, under the ruling, could not be compensated. All other appropriations, including those for the Governor's staff, travel, publicity, and Executive Mansion expenses, were upheld as serving legitimate public purposes. Reed's decision thus preserved most government operations while clarifying the limits of Territorial authority and compensation. In short, Cole had promised his staff that their overtime would be paid; but legally, it could not be.

According to Wickersham's notes, Cole briefly considered running for Delegate once more but withdrew his candidacy in October 1927[255]. Around the same time, records show him tracking the affairs of the Admiralty Coal Company, to which he contributed $450, alongside John Spicket's $500 investment. (John T. Spickett, is also a Pioneer and Minstrel Performer and fellow Elk; His POA page was only very *recently updated* to highlight his activities in Minstrel shows that lasted well into his time living in Juneau[256]. Up until November of 2025, his profile on the Pioneer 6 Igloo page seemingly framed his minstrel days as past to his time in Juneau, not contiguous as they are).

In March 1929, Will Steel was elected President of the Senate, and Cash Cole was chosen as Secretary. Just a few months earlier, in January, the Admiralty Island Coal Company underwent a reorganization at Wickersham's office. Wickersham records:

"I offered to buy Donaldson's stock for $500, but the stock first to pay the two notes at the bank, & the purchase price of $500, and the stock not needed for the payment of Donaldson's obligations & the costs

[254] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Salary of Secretary and Overtime Items are Held to be Invalid by Court", Juneau, Alaska, May 31, 1927
[255] James Wickersham, *Diary of James Wickersham*, vol. 37 (Juneau, AK: Alaska State Library, 1927)
[256] Pioneers of Alaska Juneau Igloo. "Spickett, John T." https://poajuneau.nationbuilder.com/spickett_john_t

to be turned into the Treasury of the Company, etc. Cash Cole fought the matter - but finally voted for the motion! After the meeting Gallwas sent Donaldson a telegram in accordance with my motion offering to take over his stock & pay his debts to the bank! & pay him $500. Additional."

Then a few days later he writes,

"I prepared & had typed in my office a form of Bill of Sale & Power of attorney to be sent to Donaldson to sign, upon his agreement to sell his $24,500 of stock in the Company to *Gallwas*, for $500. & the payment of $3,000 of his debts out of the sales of his stock - & the donation of the balance of his stock to the Company. I gave Reck my check for $250. as my share of the $500. to be paid to Donaldson & Gallwas gave his for $100. Mifs Todd is to put up another $100 & Dr Jenne $50. The meetings of the Stockholders are held in my office & have to furnish lights, chairs, etc. etc. all of which I do - & hear Cash Cole & Dr. Jenne "cuss" me for it - but I am patient – waiting."[257]

By February, Cole was demanding a full reorganization of the company, pulling his accounts from the bank they worked with, and reportedly getting into a shouting match with bank owner John Reck.

Cash unsuccessfully tries to run for City Council that year, ends as the Alaska Senate House Clerk in 1927[258], as well as enters the capital-to-capital yacht race, which he later resigns from being a judge to then be a participant where he was going to fly the Juneau colours and make the town proud[259]. Then, in May 1929, Cole achieved a significant milestone: he was appointed the first-ever Territorial Auditor for Alaska. Wickersham writes on May 3rd:

"Yesterday was the last day freed by the Organic Act for legislation, but these 5 held up the General Appropriations Bill & the bills creating the Auditors office etc. and compelled their opponents to agree to elect Cash Cole, Auditor, before they would yield, & won that also."[260] So our first ever Territorial Auditor is an Exalted Cyclops of the KKK!

[257] James Wickersham, *Diary of James Wickersham*, vol. 37 (Juneau, AK: Alaska State Library, 1927)
[258] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Lawmakers Get Under Way for Busy Session", Juneau, Alaska, March 7, 1927
[259] *The Daily Olympian*, "Cash Cole Has Yacht In Race", Olympia, Washington, April 18, 1929
[260] James Wickersham, *Diary of James Wickersham*, vol. 37 (Juneau, AK: Alaska State Library, 1929)

In late May brings another row concerning the treasury and salary matters. Wickersham notes tersely in his diary, "Cole is mad as March hare - while I am not. Rustgard is making friends!" Soon afterward, controversy erupts publicly when attorney Robert C. Hurley declares that the Legislature's election of Cash Cole as Territorial Auditor was illegal. The *Alaska Daily Empire* reports:

"Mr. Hurley contends that the Legislature's election of Mr. Cole was an invasion of the executive power, and that Mr. Cole was and is a Federal employee, Secretary of the Alaska Senate, and that the attempt to elect a Commissioner of Education, which he terms Superintendent of Education, was likewise an usurpation of the executive authority."[261]

Hurley's argument rested on several points: that the Legislature had overstepped its authority under the outlines of powers in the Organic Act in creating the office of Auditor; that Cole, as a federal employee, was ineligible to hold the new territorial position; and that other procedural clauses concerning duties, powers, and nominations were not properly followed. As Whickersham sums it up on his May 21st diary entry,

[261] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Hurley Raises Question Over Cole Election", Juneau, Alaska, May 21, 1929

"Bob Hurley, democrat, is out in tonights Empire with a letter denouncing Cash Coles election by the Legislature as illegal! Probably no attention will be paid to his attack, though I fear he is correct on the law."

Cole's response appears characteristically impulsive; It's reported at that time he departs Juneau in his boat to participate in the Olympia Yacht Race[262]. Following earlier disputes and periods of both cooperation and conflict, the political landscape of the early 1930s saw an unexpected turn: Cash Cole and William Paul, who had once shared a mutual understanding, then became adversaries, eventually developed a renewed respect and working political alliance amid the ongoing turmoil of territorial politics.

On March 30, 1933, the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* reported that former Attorney General John Rustgard was being sued by Republican Cash Cole for $10,000. Cole alleged that Rustgard had made "libelous and slanderous utterances" during a political campaign broadcast and in campaign pamphlets. Rustgard had claimed that Cole and William Paul had exploited their positions by conducting political campaign tours by airplane at the Territory's expense under the pretext of inspecting roads. The alleged libelous statement read:

> "In the Fall of 1930, a claim for some 4,500 became due to the Arctic Transport Company for a boat subsidy around Seward Peninsula. The voucher for this sum was approved by the Governor and ordered paid. The auditor refused to pay it. In the Fall of 1931 another similar amount became due to the same parties. This voucher was also approved by the Governor and ordered paid. But the Auditor neither allowed nor disallowed this claim. He simply refused to do anything.
>
> Later Mr. Cole went to Seattle, where he associated with his friend William Paul. … That offer was accepted. Paul came to Juneau on one boat and returned to Seattle on the next with two warrants and received his fee.
>
> There seems to be perfect understanding between Cole and Paul. Now, if Cash Cole is elected Auditor and Paul Attorney General, what is likely to happen to people who have claims against the Territory? … Cash has been dissatisfied with my opinions, and what he wants now is an Attorney General who will agree with him, whether right or wrong, and that is the reason he is urging election of William Paul … These two would make a fine pair!"[263]

Notably, William Paul represented Cole in the suit against Rustgard. This alliance is striking given Paul's prominence as a Native civil rights advocate and Cole's prior association with the Ku Klux Klan.

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[262] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Auditor Cole Leaves Sunday to Enter Race." Juneau, Alaska, May 25, 1929
[263] *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, "Rustgard Now Sued by Cole Fairbanks, Alaska, March 30, 1933

Despite past disagreements, the two became political allies. Evidence suggests their collaboration may have begun as early as 1923, as illustrated in a 1926 article noting that Cole had opposed the Foster Literacy Test for Voters Bill in the 1923 legislative session—a position that aligned him with Alaska Native voters. The six legislators who voted against the bill included Cole and several others representing multiple districts. In the following year, Cole received strong support from the Alaska Native electorate in his campaign for territorial governance.

While there isn't much about him in books there is plenty in the papers and some other supplementary materials from Whickersham and Paul's documents. Upon Wickersham's death, Cash was very eager to acquire his diaries and papers.[264] He claimed it was in the interest of the University System, but given other anecdotal stories, it's difficult to say whether there weren't some materials he was interested in keeping for himself. The only other interesting thing we could find in modern context is a direct descendant of Cash Cole posting on Social media about he, as her ancestor, was *an embezzle*r and that is an open family secret.

Men's Igloo History: Past President Clarence "Cash" Cole 1938

Clarence Cash Cole was born at Henderson Bay, Washington on February 12, 1891. He moved to Treadwell with his parents when he was four years old. He was educated in Juneau public schools and attended the University of Minnesota.
After leaving college Mr. Cole entered the business field at Juneau where he engaged in draying, docking and contracting. He was the president and general manager of the Cole Transfer Company and local agent for the American Express Company.
He married Ruby C. Worth in Juneau on March 7, 1915. They had three sons, James Cash Cole on June 25, 1916, Thomas Phillip Cole on June 23, 1917 and Jerry Worth Cole on March 22, 1926. At some point prior to 1940 he was divorced from Ruby. He re- married on January 20, 1945 to Ruth Marcella Marsh Gudbranson
He was elected to the 5th House of Representatives Territorial Legislature in 1921 and re-elected to the 6th House, where he was elected Speaker. He served as Territorial Auditor from 1929 to 1932...He was a republican and member of the Elks.
Cash Cole died on November 8, 1959 in Bellingham, Washington.

Biographies of Alaska Yukon Pioneers 1850-1950 Vol 3, p. 66 Ed Ferrell.

[264] *The Alaska Miner*, "Cash Cole Urges Acquiring Wickersham Library for U of A." Juneau, Alaska, May 21, 1940

GLENN KIRKHAM, KLUDD

Moving down the list from the KKK Charter, after Cole comes Glenn Kirkham, full name Glenwood Arthur Kirkham. According to his obituary from 1981, when he passed he was a 76 year resident of the state of Alaska and lived to be 81. He was a World War 1 veteran as well as a member of the Gastineau Lodge No. 124 F & AM, Nugget Chapter no. 2 O.E.S. and Pioneer of Alaska, Igloo no. 6[265].

Kirkham first appears in the Juneau Empire in 1921, when there's a brief mention of him and his family moving from the Perseverance Mine area to the "Shafer House" on 3rd Street in Douglas[266], though according to his obituary he arrived in Alaska at the age of five. From Douglas Island news blurbs, we learn that he enjoys hunting, his wife is active in the Douglas PTA and enjoys singing, and both are involved in several community groups. Beyond the PTA and the Douglas Women's Group, they also host social gatherings and are engaged members of their local church.

The Kirkhams attend the same church as the Loomises as well as most others from the Douglas side of the Charter. In December 1921, both Mrs. Loomis and Mrs. Kirkham helped organize a special Christmas celebration for the children of their Congregational church[267]. Congregational churches are typically Protestant, rooted in the Reformed tradition[268]. While this specific church no longer exists, it's worth emphasizing, especially given the broader context, that it was Protestant, not Catholic. Mrs. Kirkham in the 1920s is reported often as a vocalist at the Douglas Congregational Church, where they attend as well.

Glenn's listed role in the KKK Charter is that of Kludd[269], essentially the Klan's chaplain. In ceremony he presents items such as the "vessel containing the dedication fluid"[270] and the Bible to their proper stations at the Klavern space. He would lead prayer through familiar call and response, including in admitting new members.

By 1921, Glenn is seen traveling with E. Loomis and *J. O.* Kirkham. Once again, these individuals seem to move in the same social circles[271]. Curiously, although he's living in Douglas by 1922, Glenn takes up a job at the AJ Mine[272], located across the channel in Juneau. When reviewing the names on the

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[265] *The Juneau Empire*, "Glen A. Kirkham", Juneau, Alaska, April 8, 1981
[266] City & Borough of Juneau, Department of Community Development, *Douglas Historic Sites and Structures Inventory for Douglas Townsite*, September 1989, https://juneau.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/Douglas_Historic_Sites_and_Structures_Sept_1989.pdf
[267] *The Juneau Empire*, "Big Preparations at Church for the Sunday School Tree", Juneau, Alaska, December 23, 1921
[268] Daniel T. Jenkins, "Congregationalism," Encyclopaedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Congregationalism
[269] *Mount Juneau, Klavern No. 2, Realm of Alaska - Charter*. Atlanta, GA: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1925.
[270] Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Kloran*, 8th ed. (Atlanta, GA: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1934)
[271] *The Juneau Empire*, "Off To Craig", Juneau, Alaska, December 29, 1921
[272] *The Juneau Empire*, "Working at A. J.", Juneau, Alaska, March 1, 1922

Klan list, it stands out whenever multiple names appear together in community events or newspaper articles. One example of this, aside from those already mentioned, includes meetings of the Douglas women's social clubs. In 1922, the Douglas Women's Club listed only a few women by name: the Kirkham wives and the wife of Mr. F. A. J. Gallwas[273]. All appear to hold either formal or informal leadership roles within these social groups.

In October of that same year, both Glenn and J. O. Kirkham file gold quartz claims on the Muddy River, a tributary of the Taku. Both Glenn and his wife are also members of the Fraternal Order of Eagles as listed that year.

In March 1923, the Kirkhams once again appeared alongside other Klan-affiliated names during a social gathering they hosted, with the Guerins in attendance. On March 31, 1923, fourteen candidates filed for Douglas City Council. Among them are several familiar names from Juneau, some of whom are on the Klan list. The Daily Alaskan reported:

"With the closing of books for candidates to file for the municipal election at noon today the complete list of candidates who have qualified for the Council is as follows: Joe Kendler, Joseph Simpson, F. A. J. Gallwas, Glenn Kirkham, Joe Riedi, Axel Kromqnist, Jerry Cashen, James Christoe, John Feusi, Leo DeMytt, Wm. Jarman, K. Durham, Vera Saylor and Arne Shudshift.
J. R. Guerin is the only candidate for treasurer of the School Board. Up to noon today the total number registered was 146, but with the books open until 9 o'clock tonight it is anticipated that the registration will exceed that of last year."

Mentions of the Kirkhams seemingly disappear from the papers between 1926 and 1928. Then, on February 22, 1928, Mrs. Glenn Kirkham reappears; this time alongside another notable figure from Alaskan history. A headline reads: "Woman's Club Has Splendid Program Here – Rev. Kashevaroff Main Speaker at Meeting Last Night – D.I.D Guests." Rev. Kashevaroff, the speaker at the event, is a recurring figure in Juneau's historical record. He was the official historian for the Pioneers of Alaska Association in the 1920s and would later have a lecture hall at the state museum named after him. Members of the Graeco-Russian Church gave what the paper described as an "excellent talk" on the topic of "Economics of the Natives of Alaska," following a group performance of "America." However, the article quickly shifts focus to the President's Day decorations at the Forget-me-not Tea Room and notes that Mrs. Kirkham, Federation Treasurer of the Douglas Island Women's Club, received a $25 check toward the club's student loan program.

[273] *The Juneau Empire*, "Active Work Begun By Women's Book Club", Juneau, Alaska, September 7, 1922

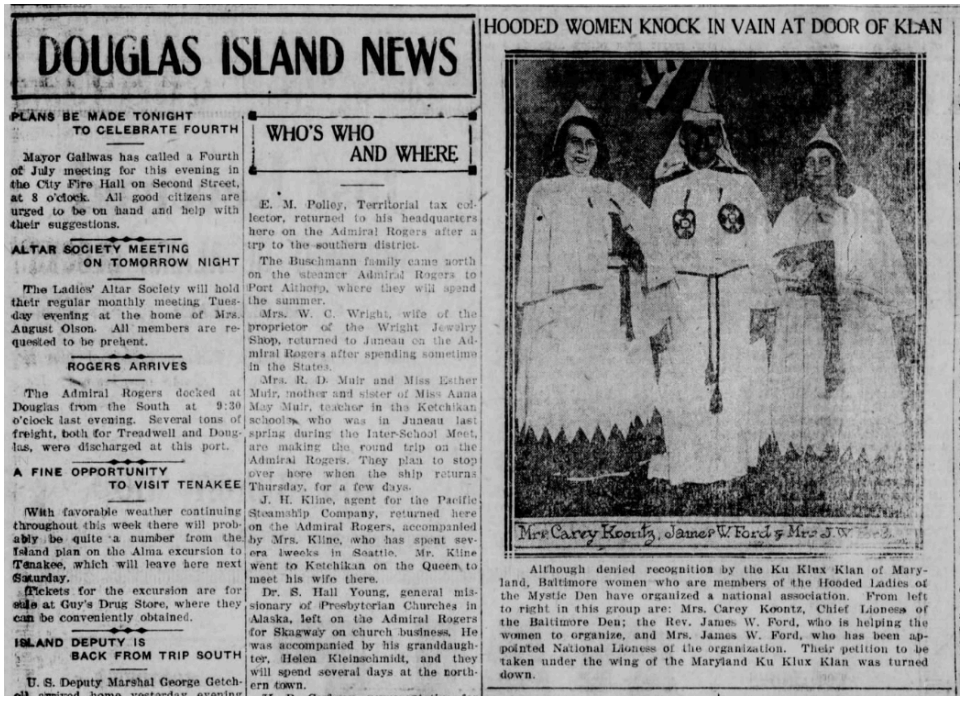
Surprisingly, Glenn himself is not mentioned often in the press, aside from his hunting exploits and his brief foray into local politics. Instead, it's Mrs. Kirkham who appears repeatedly: hosting parties, leading women's groups, performing at PTA events, and playing an active role in their church. Her persistent presence in civic life raises some important questions. Notably, the KKK also had a women's auxiliary: the Kamelia, or the Women of the Ku Klux Klan (WKKK). In May 1923, the *Daily Alaskan Empire* published a curious photo titled: "Women Organize a Ku Klux Klan" The image shows women in Klan robes surrounding an altar or box draped in the American flag. The caption reads:

"Here is the first official picture of the Kamelia, a women's organization along the same lines as the Ku Klux Klan, holding initiation ceremonies in the Emma Sanson Kourt, No. 1, of Atlanta, Ga. Klan leaders waged a fierce court fight over the women's organization before it was decided to let W. J. Simmons, founder of the K. K. K., proceed with the formation of the women's society."

B. M. Behrends Co., Inc
WOMEN ORGANIZE A KU KLUX KLAN.
Kamelia.
Here is the first official picture of the Kamelia, a women's organization along the same lines as the Ku Klux Klan, holding initiation ceremonies in the Emma Sanson Kourt, No. 1, of Atlanta, Ga. Klan leaders waged a fierce court fight over the women's organization before it was decided to let W. J. Simmons, founder of the K. K. K., proceed with the formation of the women's society.

Notably, this image does not seem to appear in any other archived newspapers at the time that are available online, only in the Juneau papers that we have seen. This image is even cited to *The Alaska Daily Empire* as its origin in other works about research on the Kamelia[274].

[274]Ashley Tokarz, "Hatred unveiled: Femininity, masculinity, and the duality of the female Klanswoman from 1923 – 1987" (2024). Masters Theses, 2020-current. 293. https://commons.lib.jmu.edu/masters202029/293



DOUGLAS ISLAND NEWS

PLANS BE MADE TONIGHT TO CELEBRATE FOURTH

Mayor Gallwas has called a Fourth of July meeting for this evening in the City Fire Hall on Second Street, at 8 o'clock. All good citizens are urged to be on hand and help with their suggestions.

ALTAR SOCIETY MEETING ON TOMORROW NIGHT

The Ladies' Altar Society will hold their regular monthly meeting Tuesday evening at the home of Mrs. August Olson. All members are requested to be prehent.

ROGERS ARRIVES

The Admiral Rogers docked at Douglas from the South at 9:30 o'clock last evening. Several tons of freight, both for Treadwell and Douglas, were discharged at this port.

A FINE OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT TENAKEE

With favorable weather continuing throughout this week there will probably be quite a number from the Island plan on the Alma excursion to Tenakee, which will leave here next Saturday.

Tickets for the excursion are for sale at Guy's Drug Store, where they can be conveniently obtained.

ISLAND DEPUTY IS BACK FROM TRIP SOUTH

U. S. Deputy Marshal George Getch-

WHO'S WHO AND WHERE

E. M. Polley, Territorial tax collector, returned to his headquarters here on the Admiral Rogers after a trp to the southern district.

The Buschmann family came north on the steamer Admiral Rogers to Port Althorp, where they will spend the summer.

Mrs. W. C. Wright, wife of the proprietor of the Wright Jewelry Shop, returned to Juneau on the Admiral Rogers after spending sometime in the States.

Mrs. R. D. Muir and Miss Esther Muir, mother and sister of Miss Anna May Muir, teachor in the Ketchikan schools, who was in Juneau last spring during the Inter-School Meet, are making the round trip on the Admiral Rogers. They plan to stop over here when the ship returns Thursday, for a few days.

J. H. Kline, agent for the Pacific Steamship Company, returned here on the Admiral Rogers, accompanied by Mrs. Kline, who has spent several lweeks in Seattle. Mr. Kline went to Ketchikan on the Queen to meet his wife there.

Dr. S. Hall Young, general missionary of Presbyterian Churches in Alaska, left on the Admiral Rogers for Skagway on church business. He was accompanied by his granddaughter, Helen Kleinschmidt, and they will spend several days at the northern town.

HOODED WOMEN KNOCK IN VAIN AT DOOR OF KLAN

Mrs Carey Koontz, James W. Ford & Mrs J. W.

Although denied recognition by the Ku Klux Klan of Maryland, Baltimore women who are members of the Hooded Ladies of the Mystic Den have organized a national association. From left to right in this group are: Mrs. Carey Koontz, Chief Lioness of the Baltimore Den; the Rev. James W. Ford, who is helping the women to organize, and Mrs. James W. Ford, who has been appointed National Lioness of the organization. Their petition to be taken under the wing of the Maryland Ku Klux Klan was turned down.

According to the PBS documentary *Oregon's Klan in the 1920s: The Rise of Hate*, wives of Klan members and their auxiliaries were instrumental in shaping the social life of communities where the Klan took root. These women wielded significant influence; deciding where families should shop, where children should attend school, and which churches to attend.[275] Empowered by the newly won right to vote, they could also leverage both their own and their husbands' political sway.[276] The WKKK even established its national headquarters in Little Rock, Arkansas. After events in Bellingham Washington, the chief of police at the time in reaction to hearing about the local Kamelia said to the papers, "It's a pity that so much beauty must be forced to blush under a pillow slip."[277]

By November 1923, WKKK chapters had been formed in 36 states, boasting over 250,000 members. While not as overtly violent as their male counterparts, they shared the same ideological goals: anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, anti-Black, anti-immigrant, and staunchly pro-Prohibition. In 1927, they formalized their own "Kreed," but like the broader Klan, the WKKK collapsed in the 1930s due to internal conflict and financial scandals.

At their height, these women were not just participants but key organizers of parades, rallies, and public events, often embedding themselves within existing women's clubs and church groups. Unfortunately,

[275] PBS. *Oregon's Klan in the 1920s: The Rise of Hate*. YouTube video, Posted March 18, 2022 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jaW6F2aEWic

[276] Linda Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and the American Political Tradition* (New York: Liveright, 2017), 79

[277] Kolby Labree, "The Worst Bad Town: The Klan." *BellingHistory with the Good Time Girls*, February 8, 2024. Podcast audio. https://bellinghistory.com/blog/2024/2/7/the-podcast-the-worst-bad-town

after a battle with her health Mrs. Kirkham would take her own life in October of 1944; passing away at age 49 known as a "prominent club and lodge women of the Gastineau Channel."[278] Buried in a Masonic Plot at Evergreen in Juneau, the pallbearers at her funeral included, Jack Guerin, A. E. Goetz, and F. A. J. Gallwas[279]. Services were conducted by the Order of the Eastern Star, Nugget Chapter No. 2.

While Of course, Mrs. Kirkham is *in Juneau*, along this thread about the WKKK we do know that there was officially a WKKK of some sorts in Alaska. In an article submitted to the *Fellowship Forum* from Anchorage Alaska, home of Mount McKinley Klan, No. 1, they apparently just had a new installation of members and say, "the Women of the Klan were given an opportunity to witness that part of the ceremony open to them [The installation of New Officers]. The ladies retaliated by serving a fine supper at the close … The W.K.K.K have just received their charter and installed officers. Great activity is expected of these two branches during the winter."[280] Confirming that not only had the Klan come to roost in Alaska in the 1920s, but so had their auxiliaries and open membership for wives of members.

This context forces us to reconsider the roles of women like Mrs. Kirkham. How involved were the wives of Klan members in the Juneau? And to what extent did they shape and influence organizations like the Douglas Women's Group, where a majority of named members or officers at the time is the wife of a Klan member?

A. E. Goetz - Kladd

Albert E. Goetz seemingly is employed in some manner at the Treadwell mine and is a resident of Douglas. He has a vocal solo and parts at performance given by the Douglas PTA[281], Mrs. Goetz at one point was an assistant stewardess at the Treadwell Boarding House[282]. According to Berth Dell Goetz's obituary from 1988, he and her previous lived in Vancouver Washington and first came to Alaska in 1919, seeking fortune in the Gold Fields, officially making Douglas their home in 1922[283].

In early 1925 when he and some of our others from the Klan charter list appeared in an article covering the Masonic and Eastern Star Lodges' jointly holding a public installation[284]. The timing of this and that leaders in the Juneau Klan are also given titles for these masonic groups here is a little suspicious. His full name is Albert Edward Goetz.

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[278] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Flora Kirkham is Suicide at Douglas Home", Juneau, Alaska, October 11, 1944
[279] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Kirkham Rites Held Tuesday Afternoon", Juneau, Alaska, October 18, 1944
[280] "Kluxing in Alaska," *The Fellowship Forum*, January 14, 1928
[281] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, November 9, 1923
[282] *The Cordova Daily Times*, Cordova, Alaska, June 13, 1921
[283] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Bertha Dell Goetz", Juneau, Alaska, April 28, 1988
[284] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Hold Joint Installation", Juneau, Alaska, January 14, 1925

The Article under the *Douglas Island News* column from the *Daily Alaskan Empire* reads that, "Quite a number of visitors from across the channel as well as many members and invited guests from the Island witnessed the ceremonies and enjoyed the banquet that following."[285] All being hosted at the Douglas Odd Fellows Hall.

Following officers installed for the Gastineaux Lodge No. 124 included, F. A. J. Gallwas as Junior Warden, Glen Kirkham as Senior Deacon, and Albert E. Goetz as Junior Deacon. Mrs. Kirkham and Mrs. Goetz get roles in the Nugget Chapter No. 2 respectively and Albert is installed as the sentinel.

His role in the Klan is that of "Klad"[286], who often is the the officer responsible for safeguarding Klan property and assisting with the conduct of ceremonies. In the Order of the Eastern Star, he served as a Sentinel, the officer who sits at the door during meetings to ensure only authorized members are allowed to enter. Seeing these parallels makes me wonder whether the Klan was meeting in the Odd Fellows hall, as many groups did, and whether Goetz's involvement as a possible co-owner or host of the building's Masonic activities may explain why he became the Kladd in the Klan.

The Kladd is not a top-ranking officer, but he plays a crucial ritual role, especially in interactions with candidates. He performs precise floor movements, works closely with other officers (such as the Night-Hawk and the Klaliff), and ensures that ceremonies are carried out with formal discipline. He helps arrange the ceremonial formation (including the "hollow square") and leads candidates through symbolic movements, pauses, and affirmations[287].

At the start of the Klonklave, the Kladd goes to each attendee to collect the countersign and password, confirming that all present are legitimate members. He then reports this to the Exalted Cyclops (E.C.). Throughout the ritual he communicates directly with the E.C. and the Klaliff, explaining the candidates' purpose and character. He also delivers formal ritual statements expressing the candidates' intent to join and uphold the values of the Klan.

Albert doesn't come up again until the following year where in 1925, they have another big Mason meeting on Douglas to publicly induct more members.

Here Albert is now a "Worthy Patron" of the Eastern Star, so he's now a higher level mason and can act as an advisor and ritualist for the group under that title.

Same thing as the last one; this one there is a lot of familiar last names popping up, Goetz, Kirkham, Geurin, and Feero, Gallwas. It's a combination of our men in question and their wives…

Under the newly updated Masons titles we even get, F A J Gallwas as Senior Warden, Glen Kirkham as Junior Warden, A. E. Goetz as Senior Deacon, and W. F. Feero as Senior steward.

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[285] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, January 14, 1925
[286] *Mount Juneau, Klavern No. 2, Realm of Alaska - Charter*. Atlanta, GA: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1925.
[287] Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Kloran*, 8th ed. (Atlanta, GA: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1934)

We know it is extremely common for there to be plenty of overlap between the KKK and the different fraternal organizations, especially masonic ones. They were targets for recruitment by Luther Powell when he started promoting the Klan in the Pacific Northwest[288]. Masonic groups already come with folks primed for established roles, lofty titles, semi-secrecy, and a general attraction for the in-crowd. People are always going to look to belong to something greater than themselves, and these well established groups are often a great outlet. Now not every masonic or fraternal group out there is automatically going to have KKK members but, there is a lot of overlap. Overlap specifically with the Masons and their often anti-cathoholic views, rituals, and being a credible secret society.

In July of 1925 he and E. E. Weschenfelder are the new owners of the "Dahl Lease" of Spuhn Island, a small Island between the now airport area of Juneau and North Douglas. While the Island now is up for sale of multiple lots, back in 1925 Goetz and Weschenfelder had a fair chunk of the Island and planned to homestead and move a fox farm there, so says the July 7th edition of the *Alaskan Daily Empire*. Goetz apparently plans on moving off of Douglas by next Spring to the new homestead[289]. In October we see Mrs. Goetz performing alongside Mrs. Glenn Kirkham at the Eagles Dance Hall[290]. Then it's reported in the November 30th paper that, "A. E. Goetz for several years clerk with the Treadwell store has taken a position with F. A. J. Gallwas and will personally look after the bread and meat orders, Mr. Gallwas having taken over agency for these lines since the closing of the Treadwell Market."[291]

In 1926 his name is included in the extensive list of those suggested to run in the City Council race that year. Every Douglas person on the Klan charter is suggested to run as well amongst many other familiar names of the Island community. This highly dense race also encourages many people to register to vote; as it's reported in the March 31st edition of the Daily Alaskan Empire "Registration Over Hundred … One hundred and six men and women voters had registered up to last night and it is hoped that half that many more will have qualified by Saturday evening when the books close"[292] With the race next Tuesday. Of the 33 people who threw their hat in the ring only 13 ended up staying on for the Ballot, which included J. R. Guerin, A. E. Goetz, F. A. J. Gallwas, and Glen Kirkham. That same April the Congregational Church had it's reorganization and election of new church officers; they elected Axel Kromquist as President, Goetz as Vice president, Miss Aalto as Secretary, and Gallwas as Treasuer[293]. Meaning that the Douglas Congregational Church's leadership is half Klan.

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[288] Miguel Hernandez, *The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920s America: Fighting Fraternities* (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019)
[289] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, July 7, 1925
[290] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Eagles Dance At Douglas is Fine Affair" Juneau, Alaska, October 31, 1925
[291] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "With Gallwas' Store" Juneau, Alaska, November 30, 1925
[292] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Registration Over Hundred" Juneau, Alaska, March 31, 1926
[293] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Church Board Reorganized" Juneau, Alaska, April 6, 1926

When the results came in on April 7th, A. E. Goetz did not make the cut for Douglas City council, but Guerin and Gallwas do[294]. Then a few months later is of course the 1926 Douglas fire, where the day after on October 11th 1926 it is reported that some of the only residences remaining standing in the burned areas were "those of Hans Loken, J. R. Guerin, W. R. Spain, Frank Pearce, A. E. Goetz and James Edmiston."[295] Then he is never mentioned again in regards to anything having to do with the fire as far as we can tell. The next time he pops up in the papers is on October 19th saying he's going hunting again[296] and like the others, mentions of him in the paper start to fall off about when the fire occurs in Douglas.

In 1927 Mrs. A. E. Goetz is gifted a silver cake platter by the Douglas Rebecca Lodge "for her faithful services during the past two years as organist of Lodge."[297] Goetz is back to singing on occasion with Glen Kirkham at some protestant church functions[298]. Finally they move away from the Treadwell area and over to an apartment on D Street in Douglas[299], after this they wane from the Juneau papers for a while. Would like to note they moved in D Street, the same time as W. M. Eddy, who was on the 1901 list of those signed up for a Klan in Nome[300] who now is a U. S. Deputy Marshall in the Juneau-Douglas area[301].

Later in 1934 Albert Goetz becomes mayor of Douglas[302] and is officially/unofficially one of the first people to ever cross the Douglas bridge[303]. He was mayor when the bridge opened and was heavily involved in the ceremony around it.

Some additional information learned from tidbits in the 1989 Douglas Historic Sites and Structures is that Gallwas sold him the grocery store in 1929, this would be included in the losses of the 1937 Douglas Fire. The Goetz family are considered pioneers of the Douglas Groceries. The "Goetz" house is located at 316 H Street, originally they moved there in 1926[304]. Goetz when Mayor not only was instrumental in getting Gov. John Troy to put Federal Funds towards not only the original Douglas bridge[305], but Mt. Jumbo Gym, aka the Douglas Public School.

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[294] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Nels Anderson Given Highest Vote, Douglas" Juneau, Alaska, April 7, 1926
[295] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Douglas Island Suffers By Fire All Day Sunday" Juneau, Alaska, October 11, 1926
[296] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Go Hunting" Juneau, Alaska, October 19, 1926
[297] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Mrs. Goetz Remembered" Juneau, Alaska, February 12, 1927
[298] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Musical Program" Juneau, Alaska, May 20, 1927
[299] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Are Moved Up-Town" Juneau, Alaska, July 21, 1927
[300] *Nome Nugget*, Nome, Alaska, November 30, 1901
[301] *Daily Alaska Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, May 24, 1926
[302] *The Political Graveyard*, "Juneau Alaska - Including Douglas: Mayors, Postmasters, Collectors of Customs," https://politicalgraveyard.com/geo/AK/ofc/juneau.html
[303] *Nome Daily Nugget*, "New Bridge At Juneau Officially Opened Sunday" Nome, Alaska, October 15, 1935
[304] City and Borough of Juneau, *Douglas Townsite Historic Building Survey,* 1989
[305] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, April 28, 1988

Goetz in the 1950s, would seemingly try and follow in the footsteps of Cash Cole, attempting to run for Territorial Auditor on the Republican Ticket[306].

Albert Goetz

Albert E. Goetz of Douglas is a candidate for territorial auditor on the Republican ticket. He has been a resident of the territory for the past 35 years. He is a former mayor of Douglas and president of the chamber of commerce. He owned and managed a grocery store there until Douglas was almost wiped out by fire many years ago.

At present Goetz is employed by the Juneau Lumber company and lives in Douglas.

[306] *The Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, "Albert Goetz" Fairbanks, Alaska, April 22, 1952

E. Loomis - Klokann Chief

A Lesser known Juneau name is “Egburt S. E. Loomis”. According to the Juneau papers, he and his wife were citizens of Douglas Island. In 1920, Mrs. E. Loomis managed the Smith Drug Store, while Egburt worked as a sawyer at the Juneau Lumber Mill. By 1921, Mrs. Loomis had become president of the Douglas Island Women’s Club. During the 1920s, the couple frequently traveled to and from Seattle, were active choir members at their church, and by 1924, Mr. Loomis was occasionally working part-time as a sawyer at the Wrangell Mill. An article in the papers on April 24, 1924, reported that he had arrived “Monday to resume his position as head sawyer in the Juneau Mills this summer. During the past couple of months, Mr. Loomis has been connected with the Wrangell mills in the same capacity.”[307] He was also briefly on the Douglas city council in 1922[308].

A glimpse into their social life appears in September 1924, when Mrs. Loomis hosted a surprise birthday party for Mr. Loomis. Although around twenty guests attended, only a few were named, including Guerin and Kirkham[309]. Same year he is listed as a judge for Douglas through the island’s City Hall[310]. His wife is one of those in attendance of the Silver Tea given to Mrs. Goetz in August of 1924[311].

On May 21, 1925, Mrs. Loomis is mentioned among the cast of the “Eagles Vod-Vil” show on Douglas Island that week. Hosted by the Douglas Aerie 117 F.O.E., the show was described as an “honest vaudeville”[312] featuring familiar local names, including the Gallwas and Kirkham “Mesdames.” While the article does not explicitly call it a minstrel show, certain details suggest elements typical of that genre, such as “black and white-faced comedians,” characters named “Jim” and “Ma,” and the performance of songs originally by Black artists. Mrs. Loomis, for example, sang Ethel Waters’ “There's Going to Be Some Changes.” Other songs performed included “Dunner and Blitzun,” “Dinty,” and “Uncle Si from Hicksville,” which share vernacular spellings common to minstrel show tunes and stereotypical characterizations. The program concluded with a small production of “The Black Statue.”[313]

In the fall of 1925, the Loomises sold their Douglas home and moved to Juneau, citing that “both being engaged in a business way on the other side of the channel, they are making the move as a matter of convenience.”[314] Despite relocating, Mrs. Loomis remained active in Douglas women’s groups.

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[307] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Mill Sawyer Has Returned to Channel” Juneau, Alaska, April 24, 1924
[308] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Douglas City Election Held; No Excitement” Juneau, Alaska, April 05, 1922
[309] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Surprised on Birthday” Juneau, Alaska, September 30, 1924
[310] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Douglas Election Officials Appointed By City Council” Juneau, Alaska, September 30, 1924
[311] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Mrs. Goetz Complimented” Juneau, Alaska, August 22, 1924
[312] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Eagles Vod-Vil Makes Hit at Douglas Last Night” Juneau, Alaska, May 21, 1925
[313] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Douglas Vaudeville Players at the Coliseum Tonight” Juneau, Alaska, May 26, 1925
[314] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, October 2, 1925

Interestingly, both appear infrequently in the newspapers in 1926, unlike other years when they were mentioned at least once a month. It is also known that Mr. Loomis was involved in the local baseball scene in Douglas, serving as an umpire for Fourth of July games. Additionally based on programmes for the Church listed in the paper, we know that Mr. and Mrs. Loomis are members of the Community Congressional Church on Douglas, the same congregation most of these folks are members of[315].

He died in 1958[316] in Washington State and was honored at a Departed Elks ceremony in Juneau, where Gov. Waino E. Hendrickson gave the tribute and words[317]. In the Bellingham Herald they report that his funeral there in Washington was given by a Methodist reverend and officers of the Elks lodge[318].

Based on what we know, the Klokann (or Chief Klokann) was best understood as the oversight / auditing / trustee / investigative body of a local Klan; responsible for property, membership investigations, audits, and general supervision[319]. It was not primarily or officially a ceremonial office[320]. Regardless they were seen as an "all seeing eye" in other Klan literature. In an account from Texas they even admit to spying on telephone and telegraph lines if they found it necessary[321].

W.E. Feero - Night Hawk

On the Klan charter, W. E. Feero is listed with the title of *Night Hawk*. Within the Klan organization, a Night Hawk often served as an internal courier or guard, essentially a pseudo, law enforcement role. For Feero, this title fits neatly: by 1924 he was already serving as a Deputy U.S. Marshal. Same year there was an article in the *Alaskan Fisherman* that says,

"We are also informed that at different points, the United States Deputy Marshal are taking an active part in intimidating citizens. Those who are most active are well known. Citizens are also asked to keep their eyes on these deputy marshals. Keep in mind that a U. S. Marshal or his deputy has no right to be in a polling place or to meddle in the election unless there is a disturbance.

Citizens must not forget that since Attorney General Daugherty has quit the President's cabinet, our Marshal Beaumont has no cinch on his present job. That goes for those of his deputies who are trying to intimidate voters. THE BATTLE THIS YEAR IS TO BE FOUGHT WITH BALLOTS."[322] In regards to

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[315] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Special Program For Sunday Church Services" Juneau, Alaska, October 10, 1925
[316] Washington State Department of Health, *Certificate of Death for Egbert S. Loomis*, 1958, FamilySearch, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-6SQW-9NN?i=964&lang=en
[317] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Gov. Hendrickson Pays Tribute to Departed Elks at Ceremony" Juneau, Alaska, December 10, 1958
[318] *The Bellingham Herald*, "Funeral Set Tuesday for Egbert Loomis" Bellingham, Washington, July 28, 1958
[319] Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Ku Klux Klan — Report to the Illinois General Assembly* (Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission, October 1976), PDF, https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/46433NCJRS.pdf
[320] Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Kloran*, 8th ed. (Atlanta, GA: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1934)
[321] *The Austin American*, "Clark Tells of Klan Work" Austin, Texas, May 14, 1924
[322] *The Alaska Fisherman*, "Stroller White Advocates Violation of Law" Juneau, Alaska, April 15, 1924

further pressure to suppress native involvement and that of other "undesirables" voting in local and state elections; underscoring the fraught racial and political atmosphere in Southeast Alaska during the same period the Klan was organizing and recruiting within civic and fraternal networks. Its direct mention of Deputy Marshals' involvement in voter intimidation also situates Feero's federal authority within a wider context of local abuse of power and racial exclusion.

Feero arrives in Juneau around 1920, originally to visit Frank Feero, the manager of Britt's Front Street Pharmacy[323]. His wife's name appears several times in 1922 advertisements for the "Sunnysuds Electric Washer,"[324] where she is cited as a local reference. By April 1923, Feero was running for the School Board on the *People's Ticket*[325], and by the following year he was noted as a Douglas resident, appearing in a "Who's Here" column listing guests at the Zynda Hotel in Juneau[326].

In October of 1924 Feero was unanimously elected as President of the Douglas Parent-Teacher Association. Other names that appear in this article are more of our people of interest, stating, "F.A.J Gallwas tendered his resignation as treasurer of the association and J. O. Kirkham was elected to that office."[327] Then conveniently we're back to this damning piece that has a lot of our names of interest, Masonic connection, similar roles and titles given. The Gastineaux Lodge, Douglas Lodge No. 124 F & AM under Alexander Sey elect,
F.A.J Gallwas as Senior Warden, Glen Kirkham - Junior Warden, A. E. Goetz - Senior Deacon, and J. R. Guerin as Junior Deacon[328]. That's most of our Douglas crew all in one place in an organization we know was targeted for marketing by the KKK.

In March 1925, Feero was selected as the Douglas representative for the Alaska Council of PTAs' annual meeting in Ketchikan but was later replaced by J. O. Kirkham. The PTA's executive board at that time also included Mrs. Glen Kirkham and J. R. Guerin, once again linking the same small circle of community members.

Feero travels often in Southeast and to/from Washington and Oregon at this time for his job of being a U. S. Deputy Marshal. Half the time his name appears in the papers it's because he's traveling with detainees and or signing off on official business like Marshal's sales. Also in the papers we learn he has a brother, Frank Feero, who runs the Skagway Drug Co which doubles an Alaskan curios store that sells, "Totems, Moccasins, Spoons." Most of 1925, Feero had again been named president of the Douglas PTA. While maintaining his post as Deputy Marshal, he continued to balance community work with law enforcement duties, occasionally making arrests or transporting prisoners.

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[323] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, May 12, 1920
[324] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, January 26, 1922
[325] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "City Election Held Tomorrow: 932 Registered" Juneau, Alaska, April 2, 1923
[326] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, October 6, 1924
[327] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Feero is New Head of P.T.A" Juneau, Alaska, October 15, 1924
[328] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Gastineaux Lodge Elects Officers" Juneau, Alaska, December 24, 1924

In June of 1926 the Fireman of Douglas would look forward to another community picnic, seeking that Mayflower Island on Douglas would be a perfect location to have a pavilion and such. At this meeting they also elect two new hose company members; L. W. Kilburn and W. E. Feero[329]. This appointment comes around Feero resigning from Deputy Marshal in June, and W. M. Eddy from Nome being assigned to Douglas[330].

Feero and others from the list continue to be socialites and instrumental in helping plan and orchestrate community events; from Chairman of the 4th of July Committee, leading sports, and dances[331] (Alaska Daily Empire, June 14th, 1926).

Despite being a member of a Douglas Hose Company, W. E. Feero's name does not appear in connection with reports or firefighting efforts during the October 10, 1926 Douglas fire. He reemerges briefly in the papers on October 14, when it's reported that "W. A. Fleek has purchased his home on Fifth Street and will move in as soon as Mr. Feero and family are re-located."[332] Later entries suggest that the Feero family ultimately remained on Douglas. Finally on the 23rd we see him pop up in conjunction with Fire relief efforts,

"A committee composed of Mrs. C. A. Fox, Mrs. Felix Gray and W. E. Feero was appointed by Mayor Anderson to work with. Miss Hance and she has also had the further assistance of Mrs. Kashevaroff and Mr. Hawkesworth in canvassing each and every case of property and financial loss among the whites and natives. When all the data is secured and corroborated. Miss Hanse will make equitable adjustment of relief to be afforded in line with the general policy pursued in similar matters."[333] (Other parts of this paper will touch on the topic, and companion writings are planned on further research and discussion if the treatment and relief was truly equitable between the Natives and white people of Douglas in this situation).

In a later property shuffle on the 25th, the Feero's officially move into the Frank Bach house[334]. It's unclear if this move is because of the Fire Damage or not. By November an additional organization is formed, the "Board of Trade" to promote and assist business enterprises and building improvements;

"With a good live association of this kind a new era of prosperity for the Island might result, especially if the bridge is built, when the demand for more homes would become urgent."[335] Temporarily placed on

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329 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Summer Time Is Picnic Time" Juneau, Alaska, June 4, 1926
330 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Marshal White Takes Oath of Office Today" Juneau, Alaska, June 1, 1926
331 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Douglas Will Celebrate on July Fourth" Juneau, Alaska, June 14, 1926
332 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Property Changing Hands" Juneau, Alaska, October 14, 1926
333 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Red Cross Relief Work Capably Handled on Island" Juneau, Alaska, October 23, 1926
334 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Property Changing Hands" Juneau, Alaska, October 14, 1926
335 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Building Association is New Project, Douglas" Juneau, Alaska, November 8, 1926

the board was of course Nels Anderson as chairman, J. R. Guerin as Treasurer, and W. E. Feero as secretary[336] in November.

A month later we'll see another similar smattering of names being appointed again to the "New W. M. Masons". The article continues that upcoming, on January 11th the following officers will be installed; "Worshipful Master, Glen Kirkham, Senior Warder, A. E. Goetz, Junior Warden, W. E. Feero, Treasurer, Chas. Sey."[337]

In March 1927, Feero ran for the Douglas City Council[338] but fell short with just 63 votes. J. R. Guerin barely secured a seat with 97, while F. A. J. Gallwas also failed to win, receiving 69[339].

He is still part of the Fireman's Hose company as he comes up in their May meeting about the Fireman's Ball.

Life for him is seemingly much the same as previous years as the 1920s wane, including his positions with the Masons, Fire Hose Company, and, in March 1928, was reappointed U.S. Deputy Marshal for Douglas upon W. M. Eddy's death[340]. (Nels Anderson also ran for the post as the "people's choice," but Feero won decisively; 119 votes to Anderson's 20.)

(Alta P. Feero and Will E. Feero c. 1920s/30s)

[336] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Board of Trade Elects" Juneau, Alaska, November 29, 1926
[337] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Joint Installation Masons-Eastern Stars Before Large Assembly" Juneau, Alaska, January 12, 1927
[338] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "More Filings" Juneau, Alaska, March 23, 1927
[339] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Three Out of Five Members of Old Council Are Re-elected." Juneau, Alaska, April 6, 1927
[340] *The Hyder Weekly Herald*, Juneau, Alaska, April 14, 1928

As 1928 goes on Feero's day to day "crime fighting" is more widely covered in the papers; from breaking up petty disputes, cracking down on moonshiners, scolding children, and looking for escaped convicts. He became the official head of the Masonic lodge on December 12th of 1928[341]. In 1929 he's elected onto the Douglas Mining Company board, along with F. A. J. Gallwas and Axel Kromquist[342]. The most interesting addition in the paper involving him comes in 1931.

February 13th of 1931 in the Daily Alaskan empire is the headline, "W. E. Feero and Pusich Linked in Conspiracy - Dry Officers Charge Deputy Marshal and Merchant with Grave Crime."[343]
Under that begins, "W. E. Feero, United States Deputy Marshal, and Mike Pusich, well known businessman, both of Douglas, were arrested today on a warrant issued by United States Commissioner Charles Sey, both charged with conspiracy to violate the National Prohibition Act. The warrant was Issued on a complaint sworn to by Deputy Federal Prohibition Administrator Gerald L. Church." (The same Mike Pusich who would be Douglas Mayor 1947-1953 and in which the "Mike Pusich" Douglas Harbor would be named after[344].) Feero is temporarily suspended from his position as U. S. Deputy Marshal by Marshal Albert White. He says that Feero has a good record and received no complaints about him, but white does say that if Feero is found guilty he will be treated as anyone else who breaks prohibition laws. The article continues to describe the situation that befell Pusich and Feero, as they were both caught in a trap laid by Federal prohibition agents. "When it was set, there was no idea that it closed anyone except Pusich would be entrapped." Apparently they had received a tip the day prior that the house across the street from Pusich, Joe Simpson's place, was being used a liquor cache. The prohibition agents upon investigation had found 65 Gallons of Moonshine in various kegs.

"Two hours after they left Juneau, according to the plan agreed on, I telephoned Pusich, telling him he had better move his stick as the Prohibition forces were going to raid the place. I hung up before he had time to ask any questions." The officers then concealed themselves and took watch of the house. The lights at Pusich's place came on and the agents saw him leave and immediately go to Deputy Feero's house; Then after the two returned together.

"Feero using a flashlight, apparently discovered the footprints left by the agents when they had entered and left the house, and a broken glass in the door. He then turned the light on the yard and the two agents, who then came out and told Feero and Pusich they were wanted." But no arrests were made at the time. A warrant the following day was filed, and the liquor seized that night. They denied that "there was any political significance attached to the matter, while conceding that it was inevitable that politicians might find such an import in the case." All official parties agree that it's unfortunate that it's come to light in

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[341] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "W. E. Feero Elected Head of Masonic Lodge" Juneau, Alaska, December 12, 1928
[342] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Mining Company is Reorganized" Juneau, Alaska, March 5, 1929
[343] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "W. E. Feero and Pusich Linked in Conspiracy" Juneau, Alaska, February 13, 1931
[344] *The Political Graveyard*, "Including Douglas."

this way but, insist that professionalism will prevail and again that there is no political motivation. It's clarified in the *Nome Nugget* on February 14th, that T. L. Chidester, one of the raiding officers, is a candidate for marshal in the first division[345]. The preliminary hearing against Feero and Pusich was set for a hearing on February 19th before U. S. Commissioner Charles Sey. It's ultimately delayed and reported in other papers that the Prohibition Administrator Church says, "we have corroborative evidence in our possession which will be presented to the grand jury at the proper time."[346] but does not divulge to any one what the nature of the additional evidence is.

Ultimately on February 20th it is announced that Sey dismisses the case against Feero and Pusich. Apparently "the case fell down last night."[347] with a packed court room Judge Sey held the preliminary examination. The case was dismissed on the grounds that the "testimony presented by the Dry agents did not sustain the charges." While the dry agents stuck largely to the same story as told in the Empire, they added that the liquor kegs had tags with Pusich's name on the label. Pusich though testified that while yes, he had received a phone call that night that the caller had actually told him that "someone was taking stuff out of the house across the street from his own residence." He then immediately went to Deputy Feero's house and was then apprehended by the Dry Agents, implying that he simply was doing the right thing in informing local law enforcement of a possible problem, not that Feero was helping him hide/move the liquor. U.S. Marshal Albert White is reported to be quite upset with the proceedings but that appropriate action will still happen. Feero is reinstated to his position as U. S. Deputy Marshal by February 21, 1931[348]. It's hard to say that truly no personal factors affected this case, or anyone else's political interest. I do find it interesting that the judge overseeing the case, Charles Sey, is a part of the same Masonic group that Feero has been a part of for many years and is host to others on the Charter.

The Night-Hawk was a key ritual and security officer in the Ku Klux Klan, serving as both guardian and guide during meetings and initiation ceremonies. Stationed at the entrance of the Klavern, he controlled access, maintained secrecy, and handled the Fiery Cross, lighting and extinguishing it during rituals. He escorted new candidates (called "aliens") through initiation, collected their petitions and fees, and conveyed messages between them and the Exalted Cyclops, the local Klan leader[349]. Symbolically, the Night-Hawk embodied vigilance, secrecy, and ritual purity, reflecting the Klan's self-image as hidden guardians of its ideology. His role combined practical duties with ceremonial oversight, and some accounts even identify him as the owner and procurer of the Fiery Cross itself.

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[345] *The Nome Nugget*, "Two Arrested Attempt to Violate Prohi Law" Nome, Alaska, February 14, 1931
[346] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Feero-Pusich Case Delayed Until 7 P.M." Juneau, Alaska, February 19, 1931
[347] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Sey Dismisses Feero-Pusich Action Today" Juneau, Alaska, February 20, 1931
[348] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Feero Restored To Duty Today." Juneau, Alaska, February 21, 1931
[349] Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Kloran*, 8th ed. (Atlanta, GA: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1934)

Remembered well by his family and the community of Skagway; Willie Egburt Feero passed away on November 26th, 1950 from the results of a stroke[350]. According to his obituary he had originally come to Alaska in 1897, was U. S. Deputy Marshal for 11 years, aside from Juneau he was also at one point president of the Skagway school board and was the Worshipful Master of the Skagway and Douglas lodges[351]. He's buried in the Pioneer Cemetery in Skagway, Alaska[352]. Hard to say if any of his surviving or then family, aside from his wife, knew of his Klan affiliation - acting not only as a Marshal for the streets of Douglas, but also Night Hawk of the Klan at that time.

J. R. Guerin - Klaliff

Before his time as mayor, John Robert Guerin was actively involved in local education, serving as treasurer of the Douglas School Board in 1924, during Nels Anderson's presidency of the board[353]. Like many of the others, his wife too was deeply engaged in community life. Starting in April[354], she held the role of vice president in the Douglas Women's Group, resigning in late 1924[355]. and was also active in their church and various local organizations. She held popular "swap parties," Card Games, hosted other visiting organizations like the Lukes Guild[356], served as a delegate to the Douglas PTA, and later became president of the Community Library Association and the Secretary of the Women's Council[357].

In January 1925, Mr. J. R. Guerin appeared on the Masonic installation list, taking the role of Junior Deacon for Freemasons, during the annual combined meeting of the Eastern Star and Freemasons. Other familiar names from the Douglas civic circle; Gallwas, Kirkham, Goetz, and Feero, were installed alongside him as fellow Douglas Masons[358]. Just a year later, those same names would reappear on the city's Ku Klux Klan charter.

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[350] *The Sitka Sentinel*, Sitka, Alaska, December 1, 1950
[351] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "W. E. Feero, Sr. Passes Away at Skagway" Juneau, Alaska, November 27, 1950
[352] Find A Grave, "William Egbert Feero (memorial no. 117128256)," Find A Grave, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/117128256/william-egbert-feero
[353] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, March 31, 1924
[354] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Women's Club Elects Officers For Year" Juneau, Alaska, April 24, 1924
[355] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "D. W. I. C. Holds Regular Meeting" Juneau, Alaska, October 2, 1924
[356] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Silver Tea" Juneau, Alaska, September 9, 1924
[357] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "New Secretary of W. Council" Juneau, Alaska, July 18, 1924
[358] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, January 14, 1925

The new officers installed are as follows:

Eastern Star.

Worthy Matron.....Lenora Edwins
Worthy Patron.....Albert E. Goetz
Associate Matron.....Flora Kirkham
Secretary.....Bert D. Goetz
Treasurer.....Mary A. Edmiston
Conductress.....Jessie K. Fraser
Associate Conductress.Elvera Spain
Chaplain.....Mary Morgan
Marshall.....Annie Gah
Organist.....Mrs. O. A. Stillman
Adah .....Una Crowe
Ruth .....Elizabeth Sey
Esther .....Dora Kirkham
Martha .....Jane Cashel
Electa .....Beatrice Guerin
Warder .....Marie Weschenfelder
Sentinel .....O. A. Stillman
Trustee for ensuing 3 year period
..... Elizabeth Sey

Masons.

Worshipful Master.....Alex Sey
Senior Warden.....F. A. J. Gallwas
Junior Warden.....Glen Kirkham
Secretary .....William Spain
Treasurer .....Charles Sey
Chaplain .....Rev. O. A. Stillman
Marshall .....E. E. Weschenfelder
Senior Deacon.....A. E. Goetz
Junior Deacon.....J. R. Guerin
Senior Steward.....W. F. Feero
Junior Steward.....J. O. Kirkham
Organist .....Edward Sutton
Tyler .....Alex Gair

In March 1925, Mrs. Guerin, along with Mrs. Glen Kirkham and Mrs. E. Loomis, sang in the choir for the funeral of a well-known Pioneer woman of Douglas[359]. Based on newspaper archives, Mrs. Guerin and Mrs. Loomis often partnered in choir performances and social activities.Throughout that year, Guerin was frequently seen directing school board meetings and helping organize school events while Mr. J. R. Guerin is acting director of the School Board[360]. 1925 in the papers for the Guerins seemingly closes out with Mr. Guerin being a witness in the case of alleged assault and battery of A. E. Johnson by Douglas' own Mike Pusich (he was not found guilty)[361].

After a relatively quiet 1926, the Guerins reemerged in the news with the upcoming March elections. During a crowded nomination process, J. R. Guerin was suggested for both City Council and School Board Director. Also on the nomination list were F. A. J. Gallwas, A. E. Goetz, Glen Kirkham, and W. E. Feero[362], key figures in what had by then become the Douglas Klan network.

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[359] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Mrs. Bentley Passes Away" Juneau, Alaska, March 30, 1925
[360] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Douglas School Board Is Re-Organized; Selecting of Teachers is Under Way" Juneau, Alaska, April 25, 1925
[361] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Jury Brings in a Verdict of Not Guilty– Pusich Trial" Juneau, Alaska,December 9, 1925
[362] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Nominate 30 Candidates at Public Caucus" Juneau, Alaska, March 19, 1926

On March 30th, 1926, Mayor J. O. Kirkham announced his intention to run for a second term, while Guerin confirmed he would step down from the School Board and run for City Council instead[363]. Out of 33 nominations that spring, only 13 candidates officially filed, making it one of the most competitive elections in years.

As reported in the April 5th edition of the *Daily Empire*:

> "Out of the 33 Candidates who were nominated for the seven councilmanic positions, 13 have filed, making it one of the biggest contests here in several years. They are in the order filed: Wm. Ott, J. O. Kirkham, J. R. Guerin, Gust. Wahto, Nels Anderson, Axel Kromquist, A. E. Goetz, F. A. J. Gallwas, Arne Shudshift, Joe Riedi, Aaron E. Johnson, John Feusi, and Glen Kirkham. Charles Sey is the only candidate who filed for the position on the School Board."[364]

Again we see this shift where a NUMBER of Klan members are vying for further local political power; it's hard to ignore that fact during this race when nearly half of the candidates are Klan affiliated! Despite them making up nearly half of the candidates the Klan only gets Gallwas and Guerin on the City Council. Then by September of 1926 his wife is appointed as one of the Precinct No. 2 Judges for Douglas, alongside Mrs. Glen Kirkham for Clerks[365].

When it comes to the 1926 Douglas Fire J. R. Guerin's house alongside A. E. Goetz's home were among the miracle "Residences still Standing in the burned area."[366] Then later on, on the 19th of October he is on the city council committee for relocation of the village[367]. This is announced in the same article saying Chairman Anderson also appointed Alaska Native Brotherhood members Joseph Simpson and Sandy Stevens to the same board for the matter.

By early November, Guerin had also been appointed treasurer of a newly formed building and improvement association, joining W. E. Feero (secretary) and Nels Anderson (chairman) in leading the initiative. As reported in the *Daily Empire*,

"A group of Douglas citizens met in the City Hall Saturday evening and effected the organization of a Board of Trade which is to have for its purpose the promotion of business enterprises such as the forming of a building and improvement association. With a good live association of this kind a new era of

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[363] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Three More Candidates File For City Council" Juneau, Alaska, March 30, 1926
[364] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Thirteen in Race, Douglas City Council" Juneau, Alaska, April 5, 1926
[365] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, September 29, 1926
[366] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, October 11, 1926
[367] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Relocation of Indian Village is Discussed" Juneau, Alaska, October 19, 1926

prosperity for the Island might result, especially after the bridge is built, when the demand for more homes would become urgent."[368]

The article's optimism stands in marked contrast to the reality faced by many village residents, who remained without adequate housing months after the fire.

Despite the association's original intent to assist with the relocation and rebuilding of the village, subsequent press coverage makes little mention of any concrete progress, or of Guerin's further involvement. By 1927, references to Guerin in local papers largely return to social items: his wife hosting another St. Luke's Guild tea with Deaconess Putnam of the Episcopal Church[369], or notices of seasonal hunting outings and community events.

Nevertheless, in 1927, J. R. Guerin was nominated once more for the City Council[370]. He appeared alongside familiar names, Feero and Gallwas, but again was the only one from that circle to secure a seat. Notably absent from public records and reporting, however, was any further update on the relief and rebuilding efforts for the village, a responsibility to which he and others had originally been assigned. Instead, the narrative shifts back to civic routines: parades, local elections, church gatherings, and teas.

Guerin's role listed on the Mount Juneau Klan no. 2 Charter is that of Klaliff. In the Ku Klux Klan a Klaliff is essentially the Vice President of a chapter; second-in-command, often serving as assistant to a higher-ranking officer[371]. Which makes sense that he'd be trying to get in on every Douglas City Council race while Cash Cole was looking at larger seats from Juneau. Though, as stated earlier, Guerin is going to end up as Mayor of Douglas for 1928-1929[372].

John Robert Guerin died in October of 1958[373] and was buried in Juneau at Evergreen Cemetery in Alaska.

N. B. Cook - Kligrapp

N. B. Cook, more commonly listed in the papers as "Norman B. Cook", appears on the Juneau scene by 1919, when it's in the papers that he, his wife, and baby, will be employed at the Pacific Coast Coal Company[374]. He seems to be connected to some outside social circles, with his family making visits to

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[368] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, November 8, 1926
[369] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "St. Luke's Silves Tea Wednesday; Missionary Deaconess to Speak" Juneau, Alaska, March 7, 1927
[370] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Nominate 22 City Council" Juneau, Alaska, March 16, 1927
[371] Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Kloran*, 8th ed. (Atlanta, GA: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1934)
[372] *The Political Graveyard*, "Including Douglas."
[373] Alaska Department of Health and Bureau of Vital Statistics, *Certificate of Death for John Robert Guerin*, Juneau, Alaska, October 1, 1958
[374] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Will Take Position Here" Juneau, Alaska, November 10, 1919

Windham Bay and early trips to Albany[375]. In 1921, he helps install a hydraulic plant on Silva Creek in Windham Bay[376]. Jury reports confirm that the Cook family lives on the Juneau side of the channel[377].

Eventually, Cook begins working in the court system himself[378], and by 1924, he's serving as Chief Deputy for the District Court. That same year, on November 26, he's listed as part of the chorus in the "Juneau Footlight Revue"[379] so we know he's also involved in the local arts scene, again, a random common thread for these guys at the time.

Cook is also an active member of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, Juneau Chapter No. 420. He serves on the entertainment committee and, by March 1926, holds the office of Lecturing Knight[380], a role roughly equivalent to third vice president in lodge hierarchy. The Lecturing Knight assists the Exalted Ruler and acts as a ceremonial guardian. According to the 2012 *Ritual of Local Lodges*, this officer is tasked with enforcing membership verification, reporting delinquencies in dues, and upholding the station of "Brotherly Love" during ritual[381]. In short, it's both a symbolic and administrative position central to lodge operations.

In the Mount Juneau Klan charter, Cook holds the role of Kligrapp; essentially the Klan's secretary. As defined by the Indiana State Library's glossary; the Kligrapp handles internal correspondence, meeting minutes, and assorted administrative tasks[382]. More recent materials, like those from the Realm of Alabama's Province No. 2, expand this role to include tracking bonds, assisting the treasurer, and distributing Klan newsletters and pamphlets[383].

The Kligrapp is the bureaucratic backbone of the klavern. The title supposedly comes from "Kirographer", meaning one whose business is to write. He would be the one who maintains the records, financial documents, and communications of the group. During rituals, particularly naturalizations of new members, he receives the "petitions for citizenship" and fees (called klectokons) from the Night-Hawk, and reads the petitioners' names aloud for approval or objection. He also plays a role in membership verification. If a Klarogo (the Klan's outer guard) is uncertain about a person's status, the Kligrapp confirms eligibility. When a member lacks the proper passwords or "the words", the Kligrapp decides

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[375] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Mrs. Cook and Daughter From Windham Bay Mine" Juneau, Alaska, November 10, 1919
[376] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Windham Bay Notes" Juneau, Alaska, August 19, 1921
[377] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Petit Jury Is Drawn; Reports Here March 16" Juneau, Alaska, January 10, 1922
[378] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Spray Resigns Job As Deputy" Juneau, Alaska, May 31, 1923
[379] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Footlight Revue Tickets Are On Sale Tomorrow" Juneau, Alaska, November 26, 1924
[380] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Elks Election Held Yesterday" Juneau, Alaska, March 4, 1926
[381] Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, *Ritual of Local Lodges*, revised November 1, 2012, PDF, https://www.scelks.org/3%20Committees/Ritual/Manuals/RitualManual.pdf
[382] *Ku Klux Klan, Crown Point, Indiana (Lake County) Records, 1913–1932* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 2004)
[383] Great Titan of Province No. 2, Realm of Alabama, *Duties of the Exalted Cyclops and Kligrapp*

whether they remain or are removed[384]. Financial records, dues, meeting notes, ritual documentation; he keeps it all. His role supports the ceremonial order and procedural integrity of the klavern.

By 1926, Cook continued to serve as Deputy Clerk of the District Court for the Territory of Alaska, covering legal matters across several Southeast communities. He's on the pledge committee for funds for the New Northern Light Presbyterian Church[385] and briefly in trouble for possible fish trap watching mis-management[386]. Like others on the charter though, he's largely absent from newspaper mentions around the time of the 1926 Douglas fire; no public or private activity is noted in October.

He reappears in the March 16, 1927 edition of the *Seward Daily Gateway* and March 3rd Edition of the *Empire*, now holding a higher rank in the Elks as Esteemed Leading Knight, first vice president of the lodge[387]. In this role, he can preside in the absence of the Exalted Ruler, expanding his ceremonial and administrative influence.

That same year, Cook and his father build one of the first fully outfitted cabins at Lena Cove[388]. He also plays a civic role by helping establish a night school in the Juneau Bunk House at Silver Bow Basin[389]. Around this time, his court duties have him frequently traveling, especially to Ketchikan … home of Klan No. 3.

It's during one of these trips in 1927 that he meets Miss Amanda Paulson, a schoolteacher from Ketchikan. The Empire reports on their July 17, 1928 wedding, noting that Cook's main residence is on Glacier Highway[390]. A longer feature article reveals that Cook had been living in Juneau for just over a decade, arriving around 1917, and that the couple met when Amanda was visiting Juneau with fellow teachers the previous year. Engaged by spring, married by summer. There's no mention of a honeymoon, but he does take a full month off from work, which conveniently coincides with Rev. Hanna's visit and the Starr Hill event.

After their marriage, the couple becomes part of the local Protestant church crowd. Amanda, now listed in the paper as "Mrs. Norman Cook," is noted as one of the altos in the choir for the joint Methodist and Presbyterian Thanksgiving service held at Northern Light Presbyterian on November 29, 1928[391].

What sets Cook apart from the others on the charter is his relative lack of overlap with the usual social circle. Unlike Goetz or Gallwas, Cook doesn't appear closely tied to the same names or events, despite his central role in the Klan. This may be due to several factors: He lives in a different part of town, he marries later, so his wife isn't publicly involved in the same circles, he's mainly connected to just one fraternal

[384] Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Kloran*, 8th ed. (Atlanta, GA: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1934)
[385] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Local Fund for Pres. Church Now Over $9000" Juneau, Alaska, January 13, 1926
[386] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Sunday Trap Closing Case is Tried Today" Juneau, Alaska, July 19, 1926
[387] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "George B. Rice Exalted Ruler of Elks' Lodge" Juneau, Alaska, March 3, 1927
[388] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Norman Cook Helps to Build Log Cabin" Juneau, Alaska, June 7, 1927
[389] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Thirty Enroll For Basin Night School" Juneau, Alaska, November 4, 1927
[390] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Wedding Tomorrow" Juneau, Alaska, July 17, 1928
[391] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Church Services Held Tomorrow" Juneau, Alaska, November 28, 1928

organization: the Elks (Although his headstone at Evergreen Cemetery also bears a Masonic Square and Compass and says “PIONEER”[392].)

Despite his more isolated profile, his involvement in the Klan, while holding the office of Deputy Clerk of the Court, is kinda significant. Especially when we consider his regular travel to Ketchikan, where another Klan chapter operated. The intersection of his administrative power in the courts and his secretarial role within the Klan raises questions about how these institutions may have overlapped, even when not publicly visible. If it wasn’t for his influence, it may have been for his clerical skills that he was chosen for his role in the Mount Juneau Klan.

L. R. Smith - Klarogo

Unfortunately when researching Mr. L. R. Smith it’s hard to get a concise timeline as when searching his name through various databases, of course “Smith” is an extremely common surname. Searching through various databases, especially *Chronicling America*, yields frustrating results, even with “exact phrase” selected. Their 2025 search interface "upgrades" still pull in results for any mention of “L,” “R,” and “Smith” individually, flooding the screen with irrelevant entries and making focused research a challenge. Matching date of Death as announced in the papers and being buried at Evergreen gives us a “Lewis B. Smith” but when searching for him on websites like *FamilySearch* we come full circle back to L. R. Smith, full name being “Lewis Reed Smith”

From what I’ve been able to piece together, L. R. Smith was a resident on the Juneau side of the Channel, and his main occupation was that of a painter in the utilitarian/job sense, not artistic. While he signed the Klan Charter in 1925 and was presumably active in 1926. The only mention of him in 1926 is

[392] Find A Grave, “Norman B. Cook (memorial no. 49512332),” Find A Grave, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/49512332/norman-b-cook

in December when construction begins on renovating and building a new Lutheran Church for the Resurrection Lutheran Congregation. “C. E. Krause had the contract for plastering the building, George B. Rice the plumbing and heating, L. F. Morris the carpenter work and L. R. Smith, painting and papering.”[393] His name does not clearly appear in the newspapers again until 1927.

On June 3 of that year, he appears in a long list of real estate transfers, acquiring part of lot 10, block 212, in the Casey-Shattuck addition from a Clara Barlow[394]. He brings someone by the name of “Ole M. Hanson” of Seattle to work at his store[395]. In December, he's called for jury duty in a civil case, and later that month he’s listed among the many thanked for donating to the Sitka Pioneer Home, credited simply as “L. R. Smith – Painting.”[396] His name shows up again in December 1928 as an advertiser who once more donated to the Sitka home[397].

In May 1929, his bid to paint the Juneau City Hall and city dock building was accepted, with the contract stating a cost of $650. “Work will start immediately.”[398] The following month, it’s announced that Armand R. Vailette has recently partnered with Smith to open a new shop in the city[399]. By June 1930, Smith is trying to rent out a three-room fully furnished house[400], and later that year, he posts want ads for two painters “needed promptly.”[401] He’s still advertising that rental property in January 1931, and by spring he's also trying to sell a walnut roll-top desk in “good condition.”

Throughout the 1930s, Smith continued painting contract jobs around town, including the Juneau-Young Hardware Company on Front Street and the Pacific Coast Dock[402], then owned by the Alaska Steamship Company; this includes the docks Cash Cole works out of. At one point, he’s also identified as a delegate to the Central Labor Council and serving as Vice President of the Local Painter’s Union[403]. L. R. Smith Taku[404]

As Klarogo within the Klan, Smith’s ceremonial role was that of the vigilant gatekeeper of the klavern. He would have stood guard at the entrance to the ritual space, controlling who could enter and ensuring that no one passed into the meeting until the klonklave was formally opened. During initiations, the Klarogo acted as both sentinel and spokesperson, relaying signals, monitoring proceedings, and declaring

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393 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “New Lutheran Church To Be Is Use Sunday” Juneau, Alaska, December 16, 1926
394 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, June 3, 1927
395 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, March 19, 1927
396 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, December 17, 1927
397 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Yuletide Greetings” Juneau, Alaska, December 23, 1928
398 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Street Paving Will Go Ahead, Council Acts” Juneau, Alaska, May 15, 1929
399 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Vailette to Open Paint Shop Here” Juneau, Alaska, June 12, 1929
400 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, June 3, 1930
401 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, June 13, 1930
402 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Pacific Coast Dock Painted” Juneau, Alaska, May 11, 1934
403 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Painters Designate Officers Of Union” Juneau, Alaska, July 10, 1934
404 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, September 13, 1933

to the Exalted Cyclops and assembled members that "just such men" sought entry. The position was deeply symbolic; embodying the Klan's fixation on purity, loyalty, and ideological conformity. The Klarogo was not merely a doorman, but a moral enforcer, bound by oath to eject any initiate who showed weakness, cowardice, or betrayal at initiation or later. In this way, Smith's role wasn't just about guarding the physical threshold; it was about upholding the ideological borders of the Invisible Empire itself.

One final detail worth noting appears in the April 4, 1932 "Wanted" section. A "colored woman" had placed an ad offering to do housework "by day or hour," including laundry services either at a client's home or via pickup and delivery. The contact address is listed as 111 Main Street, "at rear of L. R. Smith Paint Shop."[405] It's a seemingly mundane ad, but in context, it offers a rare and quiet juxtaposition: a Black woman seeking work from the back entrance of a paint shop owned by a man who had once served as the ideological gatekeeper of the Klan.

Smith dies at age 59 following illness and hemorrhage related to his cancer; his obituary says, "Mr. Smith who lived in Juneau since 1911, had not been outside since his arrival here. He came to Alaska from his former home in Nebraska."[406]

Ira Tucker - Klokann

Some of the earliest newspaper mentions of Ira Tucker appear in the spring of 1926, primarily in connection with travel between Sitka and Juneau[407]. Like some others, he is absent from the press during the signing of the Klan charter and the cross burnings. The next recorded appearance of his name is on March 8, 1927, when he is listed among the personnel joining George B. Rice's new plumbing shop[408].

From that point on, Tucker's name appears frequently in advertisements for "Geo. B. Rice: Plumbing, Heating, and Oil Burners."[409] The business quickly expanded, eventually offering after-hours and night calls and travel to various locations. Initially, one might assume that this employment was unrelated to his role as Klokann; however, as the "See Gee Bee" business grew throughout 1927 and 1928[410], it became clear that the position provided him with access to numerous properties and businesses. Klokann's are considered part of the investigative force of the Klan, part of a board of three[411]. "The klokan committee, through similar to the executive committee in other lodges, conducted an espionage system. If we have complaint about a man's moral character, we would have a neighbor report upon it, and if ground was

[405] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, April 4, 1932
[406] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "L. R. Smith Dies This Morning at Home in Juneau" Juneau, Alaska, February 3, 1938
[407] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, May 31, 1926
[408] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "George B. Rice Moves Into New Plumbing Shop" Juneau, Alaska, March 8, 1927
[409] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Hard To Beat" Juneau, Alaska, August 22, 1927
[410] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "SEE GEE BEE" Juneau, Alaska, March 8, 1927
[411] Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Kloran*, 8th ed. (Atlanta, GA: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1934)

found, set a group of to watching him. If we found there was danger of disorder from a particular class we would set up a watch."[412] Is an account of the role's activity outlined in a Texas paper from 1924.

Tucker's community engagement in the newspapers is limited. Notable entries include serving as a pallbearer for a Pioneer of Alaska funeral in 1931[413] and owning a rooming house on the second floor of the Rice & Ahlers building. A fuller picture of his life emerges from the online edition of *Gastineau Channel Memories*, where he is mentioned in a memoir by Alberta Tucker Means. Alberta Tucker Means gives the account,

"In 1911, Ira Tucker (our 'Uncle Tuck') and Barney Brannin (mother's brother) went to Alaska. Barney returned to Montana. Uncle Tuck stayed and several years later his brother Albert made the trip north to 'check things out.' Ira and Albert worked for the Alaska Gastineau Mine for a time and then Albert returned to Montana and ranch work. He married Alice Mae Brannin, on April 10, 1918, in Big Timber, Montana. In the next six years, Albert worked on ranches in the area and Alice Mae (a.k.a. 'Tooie') helped her mother on the ranch and began the raising of their first four children: Shelby Elton, Luella Mae, Mary Elizabeth and Alice Frances. The family returned to Juneau by steamship in April 1926. They lived in a house on West 11th Street that Tuck owned, later moving to a house up on Dixon."[414]

Means also describes how Tucker assisted his nephew's relocation to Juneau and notes that following a major snow slide and the closure of Thane School in 1934, the family returned to Tucker's house on 11th Street; a street in the Flats area of downtown Juneau, notable for its proximity to the Presbyterian Church. Tucker eventually established his own plumbing shop on West 12th Street, which may have become the now-iconic Harri's Plumbing and Heating building. He passed away in the late 1940s after relocating to Seattle.

E. F. Kirchofer - Klokan

Only entry for him on anything we can find is strictly the Klan Charter as outlined by "Kinky" Bayers. Unsure at this time if this is due to spelling issues or what not; when searching under E "J" Kirchofer yields only a few results, primarily related to ship manifests documenting travel to and from Seattle, with no additional details available during the 1920s. Full name being "Edwin Jones Kirchhofer"

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[412] *The Austin American*, "Clark Tells of Klan Work" Austin, Texas, May 14, 1924
[413] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, November 6, 1931
[414] "Tucker, Albert and Alica, 'Alberta Tucker Means,' Gastineau Channel Memories, City and Borough of Juneau, https://juneau.org/library/museum/gastineau-channel-memories-browse/entry/17449."

Expanding results to all years, there is an article from 1951 that says he was a "resident of Juneau for 47 years, and 24 years of that time with the Alaska Juneau Gold Mining Company … Kirchofer is one of two of the original charter members of the Loyal Order of Moose now living."[415] He passes in 1959 and his obituary says that the Moose Lodge no. 700 of Juneau "will deliver the Moose Ritualistic Burial Service." and he is buried in the Moose plots of Evergreen in Juneau[416]. He was also a member of the Pioneers Igloo no. 6 of Juneau, and his obituary gives the date he enrolled on the original Moose Lodge Charter being September 20, 1911.

Being a "Klokan" he would have had the role as an investigator, as discussed when talking about Tucker and Loomis; the three of them would have been the investigative council of three[417]. According to the Kloran handbook this supposedly comes from "Ko' - to know, and Kannas - with the eyes." Randomly enough this role is also the least mentioned in their own materials, just as Kirchofer himself is the least mentioned in the Juneau papers. Aside from saying they are an investigator, they don't appear to have any official function in ceremony at the Klavern. Reading newspaper articles from other states that same year, we do get a few examples, like in the March 11th 1925 edition of the *Muskogee Times-Democrat*, that membership to a local Klavern involved a review by "Kommittee" of their Klaverns Klokan[418]. Similarly, reports from California[419] and Alabama indicate that Klokans sometimes vetted candidates for local and national office, determining which individuals the Klan would support or endorse[420]. Other entries indicate that the Klokann committee could be used as violent[421] enforcers in a community, especially in the South[422].

W. W. Batcheller - Klokard

The role given to Batcheller is that of "Klokard" which in the Klan is a lecturer or teacher, of that ilk. Typically they would travel around and give lectures about the Ku Klux Klan and aid in support for events. Full name is Willis Watson Batcheller.

W. W. Batcheller is a traveling representative of the Albers Flour company[423]. We can see this as early as April of 1923, where it's mentioned in the Daily Alaskan Empire that he's off to Haines on a business

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[415] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Kirchofer to Leave Juneau After 47 Years" Juneau, Alaska, February 28, 1951
[416] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Edwin Kirchofer Services Thursday" Juneau, Alaska, April 15, 1959
[417] Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Kloran*, 8th ed. (Atlanta, GA: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1934)
[418] *The Muskogee Times-Democrat*, Muskogee, Oklahoma, March 11, 1925
[419] *The Sacramento Bee*, "The All Powerful", Sacramento, California, November 3, 1922
[420] *The Austin American*, "Clark Tells of Klan Work" Austin, Texas, May 14, 1924
[421] *The Birmingham News*, "Blount Countian Held Not Guilty In Woman's Death" Birmingham, Alabama, September 7, 1928
[422] *The Birmingham News*, "Klan Said Involved in Strike Violence" Birmingham, Alabama, February 7, 1966
[423] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, September 5, 1923

trip. The Albers Brother Milling Company at this time was on the largest flour and feed milling enterprises on the West Coast. Originally from Portland, Oregon but they had mills in Seattle, San Francisco, and even Utah! By the time W. W. Batcheller would become an Alaskan representative for them the company had already been accused for of Espionage, for Henry Albers held pro-German beliefs during WWI. Henry Albers also was a "prominent member of the city's business and fraternal associations."[424] Just want to note that the Oregon Encyclopedia specifically said he had fraternal association ties…

Batcheller travels often, again for the Albers Flour Company, in and out of Juneau and Alaska, making frequent trips back to Seattle. He has a booth serving Coffee Cakes during the 1923 Mercantile Booths Advertising gathering in Juneau[425].

In January 1924 he is back in Juneau again, now as a representative for the A. L. Love Dry Goods Company of Alaska[426]. Almost every mention of him in the paper from Juneau to Seward is just about him traveling for business. In the April 15th, *Daily Alaskan Empire*, in 1924 we have confirmation that he does consider Juneau his home as,

"W. W. Batcheller, local merchandise broker, returned to his home here today after calling on customers in western Alaska."[427]

Again almost every mention of him in the papers has to do with him Traveling. By 1925 he's changed businesses again and is now a representative of the Walton N. Moore dry goods Company of San Francisco. In August of that year he's potentially in Seward[428] at the same time as Luther Powell; whose doing his rounds with spreading information on the Klan and looking to recruit.

Batcheller returned to Juneau on September 28, 1925[429]; just in time to sign the Klan charter the following day, the "doleful day" of the 30th. After that, there is no further mention of him or his travels in the newspapers until February 10, 1926. By September, advertisements began appearing in the *Petersburg* paper for "Willis W. Batcheller," announcing his independent candidacy for senator under the slogan: "A Square Deal for every citizen, every industry—DEVELOP ALASKA."[430]

A lot of these Klannish types seem to all try and vie for different public offices, if they already don't host one, after signing the KKK Charter.

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[424] Orloff, Chet. *Albers Brothers Milling Company*. The Oregon Encyclopedia. https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/albers-brothers-milling-company/
[425] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Attractive Mercantile Booths" Juneau, Alaska, September 21, 1923
[426] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, January 21, 1924
[427] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, April 15, 1924
[428] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, August 11, 1925
[429] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Admiral Rogers Arrives Here This Morning" Juneau, Alaska, September 28, 1925
[430] *The Alaskan*, "FOR SENATOR" Petersburg, Alaska, September 24, 1926

Similar to some of Cole's campaigns, he seems to be mainly advertising his candidacy outside of Juneau, focusing on Petersburg and Hyder. In the *Hyder Weekly Herald* on October 11, 1926 there is a brief article stating,

"Willis W. Batcheller, independent candidate for Territorial Senator, is a traveling salesman who makes his headquarters in Juneau and is widely known throughout this section of the Territory."[431] Along with Batcheller, several others appear on the official ballot for Territorial Senator of Alaska. Allen Shattuck, also of Juneau, is running as an independent, while newspaper enterpriser, Will A. Steel, is on the Republican ticket. Batcheller places advertisements in *The Alaskan Fisherman*[432], edited by William Paul, and later, in the latter half of October, his ads appear in the *Daily Empire* of Juneau and the *Wrangell Sentinel*.

Ultimately, Batcheller placed last in nearly every local count, including precincts such as Sheep Creek, where he received only a single vote[433]. In Douglas, he fared somewhat better with 34 votes; still modest, but a notable improvement over the just three he garnered in Juneau. Douglas, in fact, gave him his highest total … elsewhere, his numbers rarely broke into double digits. Overall, Batcheller received just 518 votes, compared to Shattuck's 2,258 and Steel's 2,554[434]. Just after the election, on November 9, Batcheller was involved in a boating accident near Petersburg. He was the sole passenger aboard the gas boat *Iowa* and narrowly escaped drowning after the vessel struck a small iceberg[435].

By early 1927, Batcheller had returned to his work as a traveling salesman, this time representing the Walton N. Moore Company. Much of that year followed the same pattern, constant travel throughout the Territory.

Curiously, in May 1928, Batcheller appears in the *Alaska Daily Empire* under the "Church Services" section, his first known mention as "*Rev*. W. W. Batcheller."[436] This title aligns more closely with the role of *Klokard*. In the May 12 issue, he is listed as delivering the "Gedeon's Band" sermon at the Methodist Episcopal Church. So again confirmation, that he too is NOT a Cathoholic but, is cut of Protestant Cloth.

According to the Klarogo's *White Book of the Kloran*; It is the Klokard who "will procure the altar flag and the unsheathed sword and place same on his station with flag folded."[437]

In opening ceremonies for a Klavern meeting. The Klokard functions as the Klan's ritual instructor and ideological enforcer for the Invisible Empire. He sanctifies the ceremonial space, ensures that initiates are properly vetted and bound by oath, and delivers spiritual and moral teachings intended to shape the

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[431] *Hyder Weekly Herald*, "Complete list of 1st. Div. Candidate" Hyder, Alaska, October 11, 1926
[432] *The Alaska Fisherman*, "FOR SENATOR" Juneau, Alaska, October 15, 1926
[433] *Hyder Weekly Herald*, "Sutherland Sweeps in Overwhelming Vote" Hyder, Alaska, November 1, 1926
[434] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Yakutat Vote Adds to Majority Given Indian Candidates" Juneau, Alaska, November 15, 1926
[435] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Batcheller in Accident" Juneau, Alaska, November 9, 1926
[436] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Methodist Episcopal Church" Juneau, Alaska, May 12, 1928
[437] Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Kloran*, 8th ed. (Atlanta, GA: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1934)

worldview of new members. While not a commanding officer in the organizational hierarchy, his role is essential in maintaining the ideological purity and symbolic cohesion of Klan rituals. The Klokard also plays a key role in interpreting and reinforcing ideological tenets.

When called upon, he publicly affirms that "honor to a Klansman is more than life," and joins the other officers in declaring loyalty to "immaculate truth." These ritual affirmations serve to bind members to a shared moral framework centered around duty, loyalty, sacrifice, and exclusivist fraternity. In some tellings of the Klan structure it is also the Klokard who lights the cross. In the *Kloran* it says that once the altar is complete, he declares to the Exalted Cyclops (E.C.) that "the sacred altar of the klan is prepared, the fiery cross illumines the klavern," signaling readiness for ritual proceedings. When asked the meaning of the fiery cross, the *Klokard* is to respond that it represents the Klan's "sincere, unselfish devotedness" to its sacred ideals.

During an initiation ritual, the Klokard, assisted by the Klaliff and Kludd, enters the outer den to examine new candidates. He leads them through the "Qualifying Interrogatories" and administers the initial sections of the Oath of Allegiance, requiring gestures of physical commitment. While the Klan claims not to discriminate based on religion or politics, the Klokard makes clear that only those aligned with "Christian ideals and institutions" are truly welcome, reinforcing the Klan's ideological gatekeeping.

At the altar, the Klokard and his assistants complete the oath ritual, standing as the final side of a ceremonial square. Once the full oath is administered, the Klokard reports to the Exalted Cyclops that the candidates are now bound to serve the Klan, their homes, and "humanity", as narrowly defined by Klan doctrine.

In the final stage, the Klokard shifts to an instructive role. The new initiates are seated before him to receive formal guidance in "the Way of the Klavern," delivered in sermon-like speeches. These teachings denounce the perceived moral failings of modern society, selfishness, materialism, spiritual apathy and call for a return to loyalty, sacrifice, and honor as interpreted by the Klan.

Mr. Batcheller appears to be absent from both travel reports and local news coverage from May through September 1928. Notably, during the period surrounding the Cross Burnings and related events, his absence from the press is conspicuous, particularly given that his comings and goings were typically reported nearly twice weekly. A similar gap occurs between February and September 1929, coinciding with Reverend Hanna's second series of KKK lectures at the Odd Fellows Hall and the Congressional Church. By the fall of 1929, Batcheller reappears in the newspaper with personal advertisements, including a desk and several Winchester firearms[438].

An oddity about him we came across later, in regards for his campaign for Territorial senator in 1926 is a story involving a poll watcher for him. The role of a poll watcher is to observe and monitor the election,

[438] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "A Bargain For You" Juneau, Alaska, October 23, 1929

without violating voter privacy or disrupting the election. Poll watchers are different from challengers, though in some jurisdictions, poll watchers may challenge the eligibility of voters or the validity of ballots.

James Russel, a poll watcher for W. W. Batcheller, according to an article in the November 27th paper of 1926, challenged the validity of one Mr. Kirberger[439]. Mr. Kirberger had also recently been a fire sufferer that year; of the large fire that consumed the Cannery and many businesses in Kake just a month prior to the 1926 Douglas fire.

Closer examination reveals that while Kirberger primarily worked in Kake, but he frequently traveled throughout Southeast Alaska to manage several fox farms he owned or helped establish, from Juneau to Prince of Wales. After losing his primary home and store in Kake in September, he temporarily moved in with Judge Paine and his wife in Juneau. As Judge Paine explained, "'In fact, he has no other home than in Juneau since the Kake fire', Judge Paine said today."[440] The article also notes a longstanding requirement for voting in Juneau: "The oath which Mr. Kirkberger took was to the effect that he had legally resided in the Juneau precinct for *30 days*, and in Alaska for one year prior to the election." Judge Paine apparently wanted an audience to explain this to properly,

"I made this request of the United States Attorney, the Foreman of the Grand Jury, Cash Cole, and several individual members. How ever it was not granted." As in Exalted Cyclops Cash Cole.

As an aside I do find it interesting that when looking Mr. Kirberger more we can learn that not only is he a successful businessman, but an official "friend of the Natives" he worked with in Kake, and up and down the coast. One article even said he is one of the few white's to have received a name from the natives. The "Kake Crumbs" section of the Petersburg edition of *The Alaskan* from May 13th 1932, when talking about him joining the choir it also says,

"Mr. Kirberger is an old resident, always taking a deep interest in the doing of the town and relations with all its people. He is the 'Sampson of the Thlingets, 'Dook-tootlth' - one of these few white man who have been given a Thlinget name and have it recognized up and down the coast."[441]

Kirberger also contributed significantly to the development of Kake from the early 1920s through the 1940s, helping establish a profitable village economy and later supporting the creation of the village's first water system, a new city hall, and streets[442].

Given this context, Batcheller's attempt to challenge Kirberger's right to vote, occurring just after both Kake and Douglas suffered devastating fires, appears targeted, especially considering that officials such as Cash Cole and others refused to hear the defense.

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[439] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Kirberger and Paine Indicted by Grand Jury" Juneau, Alaska, November 27, 1926
[440] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, November 27, 1926
[441] *The Alaskan*, Petersburg, Alaska, May 13, 1932
[442] *The Alaskan*, Petersburg, Alaska, October 21, 1927

As discussed earlier, the 1926 political races were highly influential and a source of tension involving certain Klan members. As previously discussed, this episode may have been part of a broader, coordinated effort that year to suppress the Native vote and target individuals who supported Indigenous communities.

According to Batcheller's obituary from 1934 he, "Was a member of the Mt. Juneau Lodge 147 Masons, a member of the the Scottish Rite, Orient of Alaska and Post Master of Green Lake Lodge 149, in Seattle. He belonged to the Methodist church, of which he was an active member and had served as lay minister at times in the Juneau church."[443]

F A J Gallwas - Klabee

Frederich August Jacob Gallwas; Two time mayor of Douglas, with his last appointment being 1923-1925[444]. Mr. Gallwas also owns a dry goods store on Douglas Island and runs for School Board and City Council in the years after his term as Mayor. As mentioned in other profiles he is amongst the list of those appointed in 1924 and 1925 to a direct role in the joint Masonic and Eastern star lodges public installations. About half the names listed have involvement with the Klan. Another social crossover that ties these people together, amongst the church choirs, Douglas clubs, and PTA is in 1924 we see that Mrs. Glen Kirkham is offered and takes a job at Gallwas' dry goods store on Douglas while his own wife is away due to illness[445]. In December of 1923 Gallwas is named chairman of the Harding memorial fund[446]. While discussed earlier if he was instrumental or not in arranging for Harding to be the first President of Alaska was ultimately inconclusive, though he was part of the extensive welcoming team. However, even though Harding did not claim to be with the Klan, members saw him as an icon. Upon his death, not too long after his visit to Alaska, *The Call of the North* would have a large headline on August 10th of 1928 that read, "K. K. K. MOURN DEATH OF HARDING"[447] with a series of articles about Klan ceremonies held in his honor and other ways Klans can eternalize his memory. A Special telegram was sent out demanding that all Klaverns gather at Midnight their time on August 4th of 1923, where they should pray, hoist the American Flag high, and light the fiery cross in the late president's honour. There is even a photo accompanied of Harding, "Klansmen, put a picture of Harding in your Home."[448] In February of 1925, it is announced in the Juneau papers that the Harding Memorial Fund campaign will close March 1st. "To date there have been very few subscriptions received towards a memorial to the first President to visit

[443] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "W. W. Batcheller Passes Away in Sleep August 7" Juneau, Alaska, August 15, 1934
[444] *The Political Graveyard*, "Including Douglas."
[445] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Clerking at Gallwas" Juneau, Alaska, January 24, 1924
[446] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Mayor Gallwas Chairman for Harding Memorial" Juneau, Alaska, December 19, 1923
[447] *The Call of the North*, St. Paul, Minnesota, August 10, 1923
[448] *The Call of the North*, St. Paul, Minnesota, August 10, 1923

Alaska. (One can only wonder if this is directly related to his views on prohibition and backlash received for him moving one the territorial department offices from Juneau to Anchorage.) “All those wishing to subscribe can do so at Guy’s Drug Store, Mrs. Jarman, Treadwell Market or F. A. J. Gallwas.”[449]

Around this time Gallwas is also on the board of directors for Douglas Mining Company[450]. Again this is all while being Mayor of Douglas as well, which he wins re-election in 1924, this will be his 3rd term. All while mayor he runs a Dry Goods store on Douglas, which has many advertisements throughout the year from basic shoes to new shirts and dresses[451].

Skimming through the papers there is also a Gallwas in the Douglas baseball scene who plays against and a long side Tlingit baseball extraordinaire, Jimmy Manning, of Douglas[452] (I believe this is his son, Martin Gallwas). In an article from July 3rd of 1924 discussing plans for the 4th of July celebration and baseball game; F. A. J. Gallwas is the financier of the games and we actually also get a hit for “E. Loomis” that doesn’t pop up with OCR, where he is listed as the Umpire for the game[453]. Same 4th of July Gallwas made a “Preliminary address in which he explained the purpose of the Celebration and set forth aims and duties of American citizens, in a capable manner.”[454]

We do know from another article that he is a protestant and part of the same Congregational church many others on the Douglas part of the Klan charter attend[455]. He takes personal trips up to Taku Harbor. By September of 1924 he was elected treasurer of the Douglas Parent Teacher Association[456] but then later resigned by October.

In January of 1925 he is once again reinstated to the Masons as “Senior Warden”[457] alongside our fellow foes, Glen Kirkham as Junior Warden, A. E. Goetz as Senior Deacon, J. R. Guerin as Junior Deacon, W. E. Feero as Senior Steward; Their wives also get appointed into the Eastern Star in similar roles. Other individuals of interest include J. O. Kirkham, who served as Junior Steward, and Charles Sey, who held the position of Treasurer. Notably, of the ten officer positions, approximately half were occupied by individuals who signed the Ku Klux Klan charter in the same year. This situation is further complicated by the fact that the majority of members attended the same church, where Reverend O. A. Stillman presided (until 1926 when he switched over the Northern Light Presbyterian Church[458]), and he was also affiliated with the same Masonic organization. Together, these overlapping social, religious, and fraternal

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[449] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Harding Memorial Fund” Juneau, Alaska, February 25, 1924
[450] *Hyder Weekly Miner*, “Great Ore Deposit Found Ou Douglas Island” Hyder, Alaska, January 28, 1924
[451] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, October 1, 1924
[452] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Elks Defeat Alaska Juneau Ten to Six; Gallwas Relief Hurler” Juneau, Alaska, June 11, 1924
[453] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Douglas Ready to Celebrate” Juneau, Alaska, July 3, 1924
[454] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Douglas Has Celebration July Fourth” Juneau, Alaska, July 5, 1924
[455] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Sunday School Picnic Greatly Enjoyed By Many” Juneau, Alaska, July 14, 1924
[456] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Douglas P.-T.A. Holds Meeting” Juneau, Alaska, September 9, 1924
[457] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, January 14, 1925
[458] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, “Rev. Stillman is Called to Local Church” Juneau, Alaska, January 6, 1926

networks raise important questions about the influence of Klan-affiliated leadership on the group's direction, policies, and internal culture.

Same year the Ladies League of the Congregational Church elects Mrs. F. A. J. Gallwas as vice president and Mrs. Egburt Loomis as Secretary[459].

An interesting aside from a deeper look into Gallwas appears in an article published in the *Alaska Daily Empire* on January 31, 1925, concerning new regulations on herring fishing. When thinking of Douglas and herring, it's hard not to recall one of the few circulating photographs of Taku Natives on the beach, surrounded by the immense hauls of herring they caught prior to 1926. Apparently there were concerns regarding the Herring fishing season limits for the fishers and herring packers of the Southeast area. The new law in 1925 restricted the herring season to just two months, beginning March 1 each year, with limited year-round allowances in certain areas. The *Empire* reported:

"Business men and citizens in general of Douglas are pleased with the altered regulations on herring fishing as made public in yesterday's Empire and which will no doubt favor the operations of the Douglas Fish Co. Mayor F. A. J. Gallwas who is president of the Douglas Fish Co., in discussing the matter with the representative of the Empire last night, said that his Company would be satisfied with the changed regulations and proceed at once to take advantage of them. Since the first year operations of the company have been practically at a standstill but renewed activities will be resumed at the plants here and at the Todd Packing Co. Location."[460] Although this ruling on the herring season has changed little over the past century, it's difficult to know, without consulting Fish & Game experts, how these early regulations ultimately affected herring populations in the Channel, for better or worse. As many Alaskans know, herring eggs are a traditional and valued subsistence food among Indigenous peoples of the Northwest Coast, harvested just after the spawning season in that same timeframe. You also don't see droves of herring in the area like pictures from State archives suggest; pair that with it is now advised not to harvest herring eggs in the direct area of the beach, due to toxins left over from past mining operations.

Related to the Herring issues, in February of 1925 Gallwas brings an action against the Douglas Logging Company individuals, having something to do with an advanced mortgage not being paid[461]. The case was ultimately dismissed, with the court directing a verdict in Gallwas's favor. That same year, he was re-elected to the Douglas Mining Company's Board of Directors, serving alongside L. W. Kilburn, Guy Smith, and Nels Anderson[462]. Gallwas also participated in local civic efforts, joining other volunteer automobile owners, including Mike Pusich, in assisting with roadwork projects around Douglas[463].

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[459] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "League Elects Officers" Juneau, Alaska, January 16, 1925
[460] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Herring Rules Would Destroy Industry Here" Juneau, Alaska, December 19, 1925
[461] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Judgement Given For Large Sum" Juneau, Alaska, February 24, 1925
[462] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Douglas Mining Co. Re-Elect Directors" Juneau, Alaska, March 9, 1925
[463] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Good Road Work Was Accomplished" Juneau, Alaska, June 1, 1925

He, Geurin, Kirkham, Feero, and Goetz are all the main arrangers in the 1925 4th of July Games and activities[464]. Around this time, I was able to confirm that it was his sons, Martin and Harold, who played baseball both alongside and against Jimmy Manning. While the brothers were often selected for the Douglas team and played together, in other matchups a Gallwas might appear on the Moose team while Manning played for the American Legion. A player named "Hanna" also appears on the team rosters. Based on the recorded scores, it seems that Manning generally had the upper hand over the Gallwas players.

F. A. J. Gallwas takes some more trips up the Taku in late summer and early fall but as we get closer to when the Klan charter was signed his only mentions in the paper are his advertisements for his Grocery and Dry Goods store; it's around here he keeps a low profile for a while. It's when reviewing his Ads I also noticed that the Klan Charter is signed on a Wednesday, which is one of the only days of the week in 1925 that doesn't have a *regular* meeting from any of the Masonic or Fraternal groups that put ads in the paper. Same day though as a large Masonic reception for both Douglas and Juneau, welcoming Morton Gregory, Grand Master of Masons of the Washington District; September 30th, 1925[465].

JIn January 1926, he was once again appointed Worshipful Master of the Douglas Masons, serving alongside Kirkham, Goetz, and Guerin. Then in March, it was reported that both he and Mike Pusich were among those who caught a bad cold over the weekend in Douglas. By April, amid his run for City Council, Gallwas was also appointed treasurer of the Douglas Congregational Church board[466].

In that year's Douglas City Council election, held in April 1926, Gallwas won one of the seven available seats, receiving 82 of the 132 votes cast. He was promptly placed on the city's Finance Board as well as the Wharf and Harbor Lines & Sewers Committee[467]. During Memorial Day of 1926, Gallwas invited a local Douglas Civil War veteran to speak[468]; though it remains unclear which side the veteran had fought for. Gallwas then spent May through roughly June traveling "down south," missing several council meetings during that time[469].

The day after reporting for the 1926 Douglas one of the largest articles in the paper is,

"F. A. J. GALLWAS AND FAMILY, IS HOST FOR CITY"[470]. The article describes how kind and generous he was to the newly homeless of Douglas, providing shelter, food, and a place to store salvaged belongings. While the reported attendance of approximately 80 individuals who received meals is notable, this account takes on additional significance when considered alongside the article on the same page

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[464] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Eagle is to Scream July Four, Douglas" Juneau, Alaska, June 19, 1925
[465] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, September 30, 1925
[466] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, April 6, 1926
[467] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, April 13, 1926
[468] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Memorial Day is Observed in Douglas" Juneau, Alaska, May 31, 1926
[469] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, June 1, 1926
[470] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, October 11, 1926

describing Rose Davis, a teacher at the Douglas Indian School, who was called upon to provide aid and had to open the Natatorium for shelter. It was there that many of the Indigenous residents were finally able to receive food and coffee.[471]; one may be able to surmise who the Gallwas' were assisting and who they weren't in this tragic event.

That same article also mentioned that Mrs. Gallwas had just returned from medical treatment, yet she was the one doing all the cooking for the roughly 80 people "despite her condition." One would hope her husband was helping her, but the piece mostly credits him with using their store as a storage site for salvaged items.

Gallwas didn't appear again in newspaper coverage of the fire until October 20th, ten days after the blaze, when he joined a Red Cross party inspecting the fire damage in Douglas[472].

We do know from reviewing Douglas city documents and receipts from 1926, that are miraculously still intact and held at the Juneau-Douglas City Museum, around this time Gallwas and another Merchant were having a very brief dispute. The dispute being how much should Douglas stores be discounting goods for those who suffered the fire. Another store owner suggests and says he thinks the right thing to do is give a 20% discount on essential goods and building materials while Gallwas tells him that is way too much and "he and others have given so much already" that he will not go any higher than 10%[473].

It's kind of an awkward moment he has with the other Douglas merchants who do genuinely want to keep giving people as much resources as possible; also aside from using his store as Storage there is nothing in the papers to indicate how much he's already given as he claims. This discussion also of 20% vs 10% doesn't make it to the print papers. So while others maybe wanted to help more, Gallwas maintained a more fiscally conservative view on the aid.

Despite being no longer mayor in 1926 his signature and hand writing is all over many merchants documents from the time; sometimes even crossing out then Mayor Nel Anderson's typed letter head to write his own[474].

Then, on October 22nd, a new Douglas Chamber of Commerce was established, and Gallwas was elected president. According to the paper:

"President Gallwas explained the need of a Chamber of Commerce to the community outlined the scope of activities of such an organization. The pressing needs of Douglas as a result of the recent calamity and ways whereby the organization can be of help were given by Mr. Gallwas as the reasons for it's renewed existence at the present time. With winter coming on and severe weather likely most any time

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[471] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Natatorium Thrown Open" Juneau, Alaska, October 11, 1926
[472] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Eva Hance Here; Studies Losses" Juneau, Alaska, October 20, 1926
[473] *City of Douglas Bills and Receipts*, 1926, 2009.37.101AB, Juneau-Douglas City Museum, Juneau, Alaska
[474] *City of Douglas Correspondence: Fire Losses*, 2009.37.205, Juneau-Douglas City Museum, Juneau, Alaska

the temporary conditions under which many of the natives are being taken care of was pointed out and the body has voted to take steps that should be taken to assist and corporate with the organized relief committee headed by Mayor Anderson."[475]

However, when later looking at accounts involving Rose Davis, the Alaska Native Brotherhood[476], and post-fire relief, it becomes clear that not all aid was distributed equally. Many Native families were left in limbo or dissatisfied with the outcomes; while the rest of the White parts of town seemed excited for ideas of new development and economic advancement.

Gallwas doesn't appear again in connection with the fire, despite his reputation as a man of financial influence and community leadership. By November, his wife, along with the Kirkham and Loomis wives, was attending the wedding of Mrs. Marion Knight of Juneau to Alex Sey[477]. Gallwas himself continued running his Douglas store and, in December 1926, was again appointed a patron of the Eastern Star Lodge.

In 1927, Gallwas, Kirkham, Feero, and Goetz all remained titleholders within the Masons, and Gallwas continued his role on the Douglas Mining Company's Board of Directors. Mentions of his name peak in 1926 and drop off sharply by 1927, becoming increasingly sparse thereafter.

We do have a rough idea that the Gallwas store was pretty close to the beach area where the original ball field used to be, kinda around where the post office and state building on Douglas is now; due to an article talking about a high school baseball game in May of 1927 when "Little Sam Nelson made the feature hit of the day when he crashed a double in the seventh inning which went sailing through the window at the Gallwas store."[478] Just again, I want to stress that aside from the previous mentions above he is not mentioned again in regards to anything having to do with Fire restoration or what not. Years later, in 1935, he reappeared in the public record as first vice president of the Alaska Territorial Chamber of Commerce.

The majority of the role he held in Douglas society were those related to economics, of which his role in the Klan was that of "Klabee" which in basic is the treasurer of the Klan. Ceremoniously he doesn't actually have many functions in the rituals, instead it almost is strictly administrative; handling Klan fees and money record keeping.

According to an obituary posted in the Fairbanks Papers he died, "a man who believed in the future of Alaska."[479] Hard to know how inclusive or exclusive the future of the State he saw.

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[475] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Douglas C. of C. Reorganized" Juneau, Alaska, October 22, 1926
[476] *Alaska Native Brotherhood Minutes*, 2009.37.220, Juneau-Douglas City Museum, Juneau, Alaska.
[477] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, November 17, 1926
[478] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Juneau Hi Nine Beats Douglas Hi at Baseball" Juneau, Alaska, May 12, 1927
[479] *Fairbanks News-Miner*, "Gallwas Dies At Age 87" Fairbanks, Alaska, June 24, 1957

C. F. McNutt - Klexter

Mr. McNutt is one of those figures who doesn't show up much in the papers or general Juneau history as much as others. By at least 1922, C. F. McNutt is listed as a foreman at the Alaska Pulp & Paper Company[480], according to a December edition of *The Alaska Daily Empire*. He and his wife don't seem especially socially active, only really popping up here and there in brief mentions, mostly in 1929. As far as I can tell, he lived on the Juneau side of the channel, and at some point took a job as an assistant Wharfinger on that same side of the Channel and married his second wife, Bernice Hoag[481]. Based on death records and a posted draft list in the *Daily Empire* his full name was most likely, "Clenna Franklin McNutt"[482].

By 1931, a small note in the August 17th *Daily Alaska Empire* reports that he and his wife are moving from the Nugget Apartments to a home near 9th and B Street.

What stands out most about McNutt is his Klan title: Klexter, or "Outer Guard." It's a curious appointment, especially considering his otherwise low profile. His job titles don't exactly line up with the more public or influential roles that many other Klansmen held, and again his appearance in the papers is minimal. So the fact that he had a named position at all is intriguing, hard to say if he was chosen then on purpose due to his low profile?

When looking at an official copy of the *Kloran*, it becomes clear that while McNutt may have been a seemingly minor figure in the broader Juneau-Douglas community, the role of Klexter was significant within the Klan; especially during initiation ceremonies.

In a typical Klavern meeting, the Klexter would be stationed just inside the door between the Outer and Inner Dens, essentially guarding both the ceremonial space and the main entry used by existing members. Candidates, referred to as "worthy aliens", would first enter the Outer Den, where the Night Hawk would give them their "Petitions to Citizenship" to review and sign. After that, the Klexter would call out from behind the closed door: "Who dares to approach so near the entrance of this Klavern?"

The Night Hawk would formally announce himself, and after that exchange, both the Night Hawk and the candidates would be permitted to change into their robes.

The Klexter, as described in the *Kloran*, acts as guardian of the inner sanctum, stationed at the symbolic threshold between the outside world and the Invisible Empire[483]. His main responsibility was to challenge, question, and verify the candidates' fitness to proceed. Through a ceremonial Q&A with the Kladd (the

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[480] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, December 22, 1922
[481] *Seward Daily Gateway*, Seward, Alaska, May 15, 1929
[482] *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "More Names of Present Draft With Local Board", Juneau, Alaska, October 22, 1918
[483] Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, *Kloran*, 8th ed. (Atlanta, GA: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 1934)

officer escorting the candidates), the Klexter asks whether the men were "selected with care," whether they possess the “marks” of a Klansman (defined not by wealth or status, but by values like “a chivalric head, a compassionate heart, a prudent tongue and a courageous will” and, though not explicitly said here, *whiteness*, of course), and whether they understand the serious consequences of betraying the Klan. If satisfied, the Klexter asks for the countersign, a secret password whispered through a small opening (the wicket) in the door. Only then does he open the door and allow them to pass, welcoming them with lofty phrases about loyalty, duty, and noble achievement.

In this way, the Klexter is both a ritual gatekeeper and a symbolic one; enforcing secrecy, ideological conformity, and spiritual belonging at one of the most critical moments in the Klan's initiation rites.

The only other substantial thing I found about him in the papers was a very public divorce in 1921. His first-wife, Alice McNutt, was granted a divorce on grounds of desertion, saying simply that he wasn’t around, like at all. This comes after in 1916, where it’s reported to have occurred in Douglas, his then-wife, Alice shot him on December 18th. That Saturday night at 11:30 Alice had called Marshal Shafer’s office to “enlist his aid in locating her husband who she said was probably in some saloon or engaged in gambling.”[484] A little after that Mr. McNutt rang for the Marshal’s office saying that his wife shot him in the stomach and demanded her jailed! At the same time Alice called and said she had fired two shots through her front door of her home “at some burglar who was trying to break in.” The *Douglas Island News’* version of the article says that McNutt was not seriously injured and that the couple had more or less fought off and on for a while, even saying that earlier that year on October 11th Alice had her husband arrested for assault[485]. The Marshal’s office knew of him well through other issues, including illegal gambling in his cigar store[486].

In connection with Cash Cole: in 1920, both McNutt and Cole were witnesses in the "Al Weather’s fish piracy"[487] case. The two testified that a man named Al Weathers had shown up at the Cole barn on the afternoon of the 4th to “inquire about some groceries”. Given McNutt’s later work as a Wharfinger and Cole’s various waterfront business dealings, the two would have likely crossed paths regularly.

McNutt would also acquire land at Vanderbilt Hill in the 1930s for a Homestead/Dairy with others[488] and another homesite in 1942 about 7 ½ miles north west of Juneau, on now what’s Glacier Highway[489]. When he dies in 1957 the paper reports him as Clenna “Francis” McNutt, but all other information listed matches the above[490].

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[484] *Seward Daily Gateway*, “Woman Held for Shooting Her Husband”, Seward, Alaska, December 26, 1916
[485] *The Douglas Island News*, “McNutt Home is Disrupted”, Douglas, Alaska, December 22, 1916
[486] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, “City Police Arrest Fifteen in Two Raids” Juneau, Alaska, July 22, 1915
[487] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, “Weathers’ Alibi is Put Forth by Defense as Case Nears Close” Juneau, Alaska, February 17, 1920
[488] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, January 10, 1934
[489] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, May 27, 1942
[490] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, May 27, 1942

THE WITNESS SIGNATORIES

The available materials allow us to reconstruct a reasonably clear timeline for the issuance and adoption of the Klan Charter in Alaska. In an interview published in the *Seward Daily Gateway* in August 1925, Luther Powell stated that he would be "returning to the Stat in September, at which time charters for the various Alaskan lodges will be mailed out."[491] The Charter itself was formally issued on "this 30th day of the 9th month of 1925, and on the doleful day of the Weird week of the Furious month of the year of the Klan LIX and in the 10th cycle of the 3rd reign of our Reincarnation." In other words, it was dated 30 September 1925, a date that coincided with a major public gathering held to welcome Morton Gregory, the Grand Master of the Masons of the Washington Jurisdiction[492].

At the bottom of the document appears a "Certificate of Acceptance," which reads: "This certifies that the above CHARTER was read to and duly adopted by [the] above named Klan in session assembled, with all stipulations and conditions herein stated or implied, on the 17th day of Dec. A.D. 1925 A.K." The Charter bears several signatures dated 17 December 1925. These include that of Douglas Mead, identified as Exalted Cyclops, and a witness signature by J. A. Bracewell. It is further attested by "His Lordship H. W. Evans, Imperial Wizard of the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," and by H. H. Fourney, Imperial Kligrapp.

Originally when we first began examining the KKK Charter several months ago, we inadvertently overlooked the additional witness signatures. At the time, I grouped these names together without close scrutiny, assuming their significance was secondary given the prominence of H. W. Evans, then the Imperial Wizard and the principal national leader of the Ku Klux Klan. However, upon revisiting the document recently, I realized that the witness and accompanying signatures appeared somewhat familiar, prompting a closer reassessment of their potential relevance.

A quick search on Douglas Mead in the Juneau papers produces a "Douglas A. Mead" who was a Superintendent of the Snettisham Pulp Mill in 1920, he even previously did construction work for Treadwell. The same article on May 24th of 1920 that talks about his new work at Snettisham also shares that he holds the special title of the "First White Child Born on Douglas Island"[493]. Mr. Mead also attached himself to Cash Cole in the 1926 election, joining him on "The People's Ticket", running for Councilmen[494]. The People's Ticket in 1926 runs on the campaign promise of "Clean Living, Clean Town,

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[491] *Medford Mail Tribune*, "Clenna Francis McNutt", Medford, Oregon, June 9, 1957
[492] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Reception Tonight for Morton Gregory" Juneau, Alaska, September 30, 1925
[493] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "Superintendent of New Pulp Mill at Snettisham" Juneau, Alaska, May 20, 1920
[494] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "The City Election" Juneau, Alaska, March 31, 1926

Clean Government."[495] Cash Cole for Mayor and then Frank L. Garnick, Wilfred J. Lievers, and Douglas A. Mead for Councilmen. I also discovered evidence suggesting that Douglas Mead may have been involved in the construction of stamp mills in South Africa, as reported in the *Kusko Times* on February 15, 1922[496].

There also appears to be a possibility that Douglas Mead held a leadership role within some form of Klan organization prior to Cash Cole's involvement. One particularly puzzling detail arises from the Klan Charter itself. As "Kinky" denotes, and as can be faintly discerned in the document, Douglas Mead is identified as an "Exalted Cyclops," the same title now held by Cash Cole. In the Charter, however, Cole is explicitly designated as the Exalted Cyclops of the Mt. Juneau Klan. This duplication of titles suggests two possible interpretations in our opinion.

First; it is possible that an informal or preliminary version of the Klan already existed in Juneau before the arrival of Luther Powell, and that Mead, again often referenced as the first white child born in Douglas, had been selected as the organization's initial leader? Such a development may have occurred during the Odom and Cunningham excursion, or at another moment preceding Powell's visit, with the Charter reflecting a subsequent formal transfer of authority from Mead to Cole. Alternatively, Mead may have held the title of Exalted Cyclops in a different Klan chapter, possibly in a nearby community rather than in Juneau itself. In the absence of additional documentation, it remains difficult to determine why Mead signs the Charter with that title as well.

Further complicating matters is Mac Metcalfe's 2009[497] reference to a *Call of the North* article noting that news of the Klan's "Doleful Day" had reached other Klan newspapers.[498] The Call of the North piece from St. Paul, Minnesota stating that "At Juneau, Alaska a Klan has been established so far north that members probably wear fur robes and 'mush' to meetings" is dated July 1923, two years before the issuance of the Juneau Klan Charter.[499] Moreover, from the Nome Article discussed earlier in this paper, that Klan had an official establishment in 1901, twenty-four years prior! Metcalfe's interpretation seems to assume that Cash Cole already served as Exalted Cyclops in 1923, which only adds to the ambiguity. It is possible that he was conflating earlier information, perhaps reflecting references to Mead rather than Cole, suggesting that Mead may indeed have been associated with a previously established Klan presence in the Juneau area. Given the scarcity of surviving records and the difficulty of reconstructing certain precise timelines, such misinterpretations are not unlikely.

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[495] *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "The People's Ticket" Juneau, Alaska, April 1, 1926
[496] *The Kusko Times*, McGrath, Alaska, February 15, 1922
[497] "The Ku Klux Klan in Juneau," *Juneau Empire,* 2009
[498] "Klan Penetrates Alaska Recesses to Aid Americans," *The National Kourier*, May 15, 1925
[499] Bayers, "Captain Lloyd H. 'Kinky' Bayers Collection."

J. A. Bracewell, who is the only witness in the Alaskan papers the Fall/Winter of 1925; around the same time as the Juneau Klan charter is being hashed out and signed. On the same day the charter is witness-signatured by him, in the *Daily Empire* under the "At the Gastineau Section"[500] is that J. A. Bracewell, of Ft. Worth, Texas is staying there. The previous day's paper lists him as a passenger arriving to Juneau from the South aboard the *Alameda*[501]. He apparently had made a previous trip to Juneau in November on the 23rd, where he again stayed at the Gastineau[502]. The only additional evidence of Bracewell's activities in Alaska appears in a brief notice published in the *Seward Daily Gateway* on December 10, 1925. The item reports: "J. A. Bracewell of Fort Worth, Texas, following a brief business trip to the interior, departed for the South last evening on the Admiral Watson. Mr. Bracewell returned to Seward from Fairbanks on last night's train."[503] The phrasing "brief business trip" echoes the similarly vague explanation offered by Luther Powell when attempting to re-enter Canada as a "salesman" when he was initially kicked out and trying to re-enter[504], suggesting that such descriptions may have served as convenient euphemisms for Klan-related activity. Though on December 24th, he's on the same ship headed to Ketchikan as William Paul it would seem[505].

When casting a wider net to see if there is any other information out there on who Bracewell was, there are a few articles who list him as a "Klan Investigator"[506] in the Lower Forty-Eight. Meaning he was probably a Klokann or more likely a *Klokann Chief*, by the time he came to Alaska. Including, Bracewell is tied to a case in South Carolina in 1923 where the Klan was accused of kidnapping and murdering two men, where he is one who gives the statement that evidence was planted and that the Klan was essentially open to giving statements to help the police properly close the case. Another article lists him as an "agent" for the Atlanta headquarters in 1923[507] there in Texas. His name is also tied to an Article about the Ku Klux Klan spent 80,000 to 100,000 dollars in Texas to help elect Earl B. Mayfield to the U. S. Senate[508] in 1922-24. January 18th, 1924 under an article titled, "The Blacklist." is the most chilling account of this man. A separate man named Jett claims he was paid to spy on and obtain information as blackmail on Klan members. In this is the statement, "J. A. Bracewell, whom Savage calls his 'killer.' He hailed from Fort Worth, Tex., and was a friend of Dr. Evans. He had a record of several murders in Texas and

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500 *The Daily Alaska Empire*, "At the Gastineau" Juneau, Alaska, December 17, 1925
501 *The Daily Alaska Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, December 16, 1925
502 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "At the Gastineau" Juneau, Alaska, November 24, 1925
503 *Seward Daily Gateway*, Seward, Alaska, December 10, 1925
504 *Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project*, "Luther I. Powell: Northwest KKK Organizer," University of Washington, https://depts.washington.edu/civilr/kkk_powell.htm
505 *The Alaska Daily Empire*, "Admiral Rogers in Last Night Enroute South" Juneau, Alaska, December 24, 1925
506 *Bamberg Herald*, Bamberg, South Carolina, November 8, 1923
507 *The San Antonio Light - Home Edition*, "Block Part of Ku Klux Ceremony" San Antonio, Texas, September 21, 1923
508 *The Milwaukee Leader*, "Klan Groups Steal Funds, Witness Says" Milwaukee, Wisconsin, May 31, 1924

elsewhere and carries a pistol with fourteen notches in its heel, and he boasts that every notch means a dead man."[509]

Last person to sign as Witness to Imperial Wizard, Evan's signature is an "H. H. Fourney" and while originally not finding anything to pin down this exact individual to anybody else or other papers in Alaska nor the lower 48. Expanding the search to the broader identifier "H. Fourney" produced a few leads, such as an "E. H. Fourney," sponsored by the American Legion as a Canadian veteran residing in Oregon in 1924, and another "H. Fourney" associated with Armistice Day events in Oakland, California, organized by the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Most likely "H. H. Fourney" was a mis-type by Kinky; for N. H., N. N., and H. N. Fourney populate in multiple searches related to Klan activity in Atlanta Georgia. Notably, in 1923, a court case in Georgia against H. W. Evans lists Fourney as a local Klan treasurer[510]. By 1924, however, references to him largely vanish from the newspapers, possibly due to the use of an alternate name or the limitations of online newspaper databases, including inconsistent OCR indexing.

Discussion on Trends Seen with those named

"Some of those that burn crosses, are the same that hold office" are the slightly different lyrics sung by Rage Against the Machine's Zack de la Rocha, when performing their 1992 hit song, "Killing in the Name" at live performances.[511]

In Juneau during the 1920s, a number of prominent individuals willingly affiliated themselves with the Ku Klux Klan, a decision that reflects a conscious and active endorsement of the organization's racist ideology. This period was already marked by heightened social tensions and widespread racial prejudice; thus, joining the Klan was not a passive act but a deliberate alignment with its discriminatory principles; "Putting effort into your Racism". Many of these individuals held positions of influence within the community, and their involvement with the Klan underscores the extent to which its ideology permeated local power structures.

A significant portion of the signatories were already involved in fraternal organizations, such as the Masons, mirroring similar patterns observed in other states like Washington, where fraternal and Klan affiliations often overlapped. Several members occupied key roles on school boards and parent-teacher associations, positions particularly relevant given the Klan's national campaign against Catholic education and Catholic-affiliated teachers. Protestant ministers were even offered free membership and powerful

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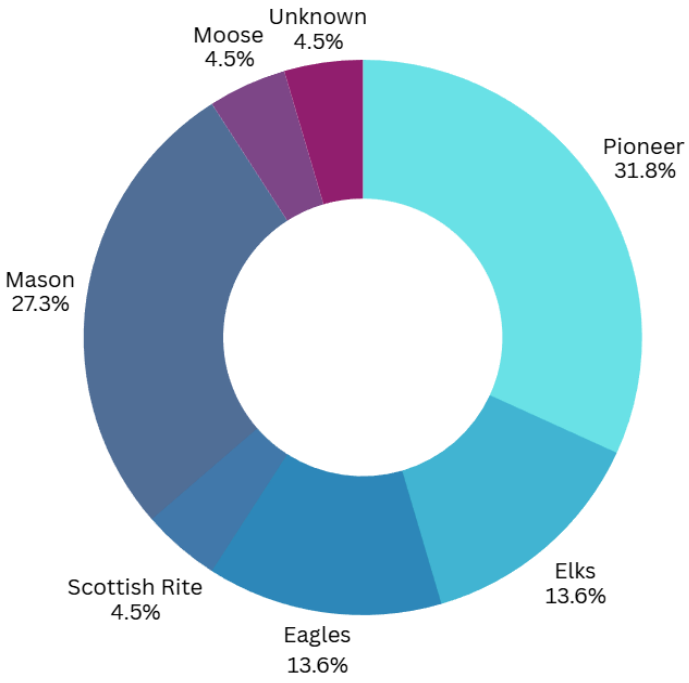
[509] *Daily News*, "Klan Goosestepped Under Scarlet Whip" New York, New York, January 18, 1924.
[510] *Wichita Daily Times*, "Klan Officials are Required to Give Testimony", Wichita Falls, Texas, September, 1923
[511] Rage Against the Machine, *Killing in the Name*, live performance at Pinkpop Festival, Landgraaf, Netherlands, June 11, 2010.

Chaplain status within the KKK in the 1920s[512]. Notably, among those whose religious affiliations could be identified, none were Catholic; most were active members of Presbyterian congregations, frequently participating in church choirs and organizing events. Some on this list are even guilty of hosting and acting/singing in Burnt Cork Minstrel shows.

In a quantitative breakdown derived from newspapers and additional archival databases indicates that 92 percent of the individuals listed on the Mount Juneau No. 2 Klan Charter (excluding Douglas Mead, who signed as a witness) were simultaneously members of another fraternal organization in the Juneau-Douglas area. Sixty-nine percent were confirmed to belong to Protestant churches; among the nine individuals whose church membership could be definitively established, 30.8 percent attended the same congregation; the Congregational Church on Douglas Island. Gaps in the religious data stem primarily from the absence of primary sources that directly identify affiliations through familial connections, choir or community participation, funeral services, or explicit titles such as “Reverend.” Additionally, about 76 percent of those listed either held or sought elected or appointed positions in civic or community Leadership.

Cash Cole - Pioneer of Alaska, Elks
Glenn Kirkham - Eagles, Mason, Pioneer
Albert E. Goetz - Mason,
Egbert Loomis - Eagles, Elk
W. E. Feero - Mason
J. R. Guerin - Pioneer of Alaska
N. B. Cook - Elks, Mason, Pioneer
L. R. Smith - Uknown at this Time
Ira Tucker - Pioneer of Alaska
E. F. Kirchofer - Moose, Pioneer
W. W. Batcheller - Mason, Scottish Rite
F.A.J. Gallwas - Mason, Eagles
C.F. McNutt - Pioneer

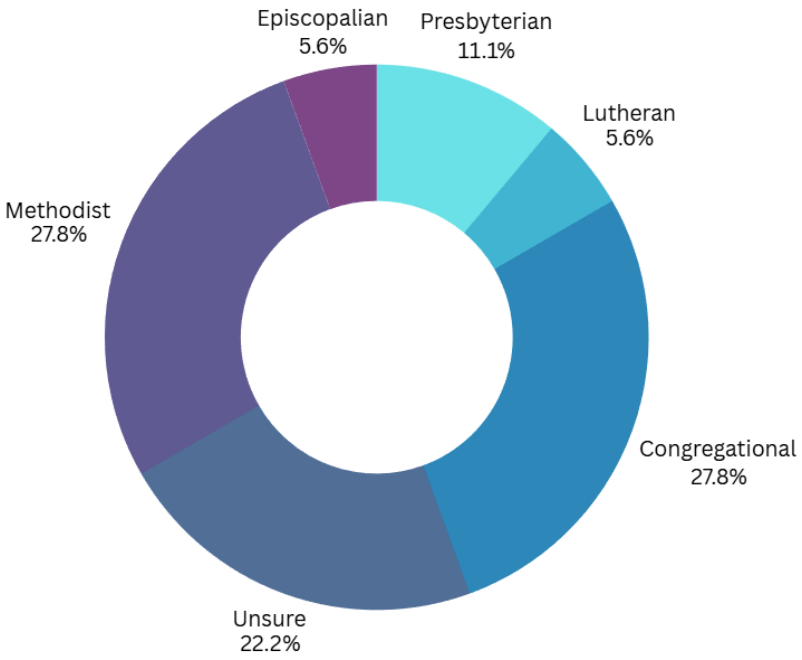
Part of Some other Fraternal Organization
92%



[512] Kelly J. Baker, *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK’s Appeal to Protestant America, 1915–1930* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011), 46–49

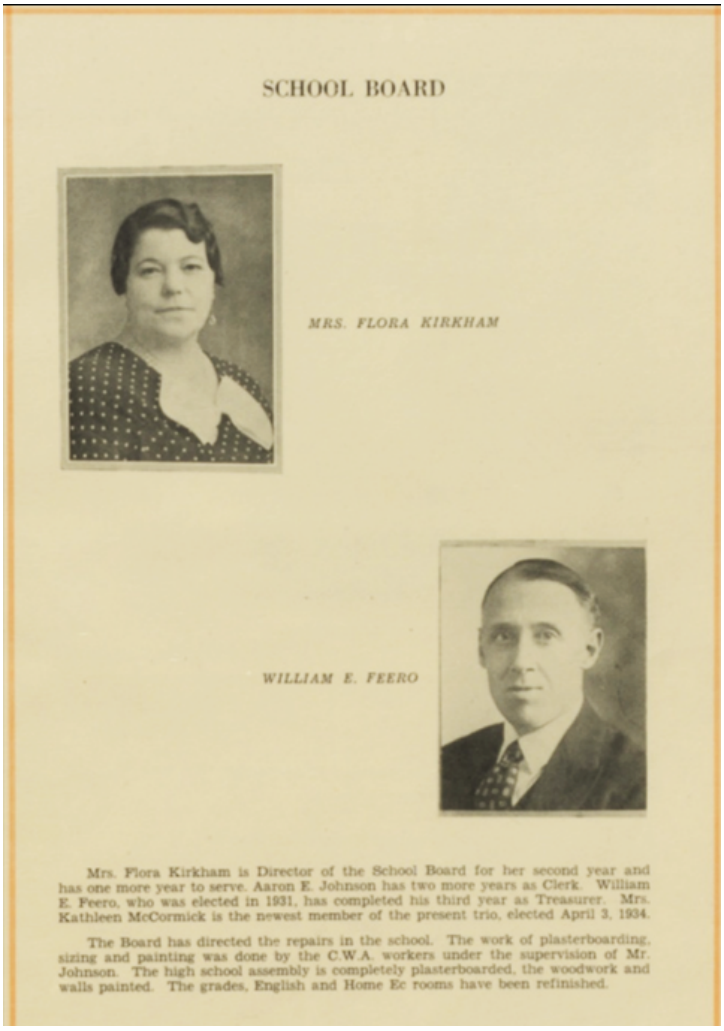
Cash Cole - Presbyterian
Glenn Kirkham - Congregational
Albert E. Goetz - Congregational
Egbert Loomis - Congregational
W. E. Feero - Unsure
J. R. Guerin - Episcopalian
N. B. Cook - Presbyterian
L. R. Smith - Unsure
Ira Tucker - Lutheran
E. F. Kirchofer - Unsure
W. W. Batcheller - Methodist
F.A.J. Gallwas - Congregational
C.F. McNutt - Unsure

69% Confirmed Protestant of that
30.8% Were regular patrons of the
Congregational Church on Douglas



(Preliminary visual breakdown for Edition 1 of this paper, self-compiled. While every effort was made to ensure accuracy, the volume of records consulted may have introduced minor discrepancies, as some were even contradictory to one another. Some data in this edition might contain small inaccuracies and should be interpreted accordingly.)

These individuals were deeply embedded in the fabric of Douglas Island's civic and social life. They included mayors, city council members, church leaders, women's club organizers, business owners, law enforcement officers, Masonic officials, and other outspoken community figures. Their public actions were consistent with, and cannot be divorced from, the exclusionary and prejudiced views they chose to support in this manner. Especially with *then* attitudes surrounding Alaskan Natives.



SCHOOL BOARD

MRS. FLORA KIRKHAM

WILLIAM E. FEERO

Mrs. Flora Kirkham is Director of the School Board for her second year and has one more year to serve. Aaron E. Johnson has two more years as Clerk. William E. Feero, who was elected in 1931, has completed his third year as Treasurer. Mrs. Kathleen McCormick is the newest member of the present trio, elected April 3, 1934.

The Board has directed the repairs in the school. The work of plasterboarding, sizing and painting was done by the C.W.A. workers under the supervision of Mr. Johnson. The high school assembly is completely plasterboarded, the woodwork and walls painted. The grades, English and Home Ec rooms have been refinished.

Some of this is exemplified through their actions surrounding particular events, including but not limited to the 1926 Douglas fire[513]. As will be explored in greater depth in a companion paper currently in preparation, the larger study examines a series of issues and events related to politics and Native sovereignty on Douglas Island.

It is also noteworthy that, although several of these individuals have entries in the Pioneers of Alaska records those do not reflect holistically accurate ongoings with them; moreover none appear with *dedicated* biographical entries in Gastineau Channel Memories, a volume documenting personal histories from both sides of the channel from the late nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century. Given that some of these figures were prominent within Juneau's historical narrative of the early 1900s and belonged to families whose names remain influential in the local zeitgeist, their absence from this

[513] "The Third Meeting of the Emergency Relief Committee," October 14, 1926, in City of Douglas Correspondence for Fire Emergency Relief, 2009.37.209, Juneau-Douglas City Museum, Juneau, Alaska.

collection in some ways could be considered odd; unclear if this is just accidental oversight or possibly purposeful.

In regards to research directly tied to the Pioneers of Alaska, while they are often seen as the keepers of Alaska's history through their membership and civic engagements, a troubling number of Ku Klux Klan-affiliated individuals have held positions within the organization, including Igloo presidents and officer roles. Historically, membership was restricted[514] to white men who arrived in Alaska before January 1, 1900; women were not granted full membership rights until 1912, and racial restrictions were not formally removed until 1982[515]. Although the organization's official history acknowledges this, many chapters obscure the fact[516], emphasizing rare exceptions such as "China Joe," an honorary member of Juneau Igloo 6, and A. P. Kashaveroff, a half-Aleut Igloo president in 1927. In 1938-1940 they were one of the main groups involved in discussion around accepting Jewish refugees or not to the Territory during World War Two. The subcommittee involved with possible acceptance of these Jewish refugees had also received strong written opposition from major Alaska chambers of commerce and civic groups, including the Pioneers of Alaska, described by Delegate Dimond as "the old-timers of Alaska" and an organization "that should be listened to above all others." The Pioneers argued that "these foreigners cannot be assimilated in Alaska, and will constitute a threat to our American civilization." This nativist sentiment, reinforced by anti-semitism and economic insecurity, shaped broader objections to the King–Havenner bill, with opponents claiming Jewish refugees would "constitute a threat to our American civilization," "form a separate society," and intensify unemployment and competition for residents[517]. Archival and photographic evidence suggests that very few members of color have ever been included in the Pioneer of Alaska additionally.

The Pioneers' influence as stewards of Alaskan history is particularly significant in light of these exclusions. Members like Cole and Kashaveroff contributed to major historical collections and institutions, including Judge Whickersham's papers and the early development of the Library and Museum of Alaska. The organization's historical racial policies, coupled with the presence of Klan-affiliated members, suggest that they had the capacity to shape historical narratives, privileging white perspectives while marginalizing or omitting other voices.

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[514] History of the Pioneers of Alaska." *Pioneers of Alaska – Juneau*, July 18, 1924. http://www.pioneersofalaskajuneau.org/2013_Convention_Book/page25_27.pdf. Transcribed from *The Alaska Weekly*, July 18, 1924 (published in Seattle, Washington, until the late 1930s or early 1940s).
[515] "Igloo History." Pioneers of Alaska - Grand Igloo, n.d. http://pioneersofalaska.org/igloo_history.html.
[516] "Pioneers of Alaska – Men's Igloo 6 and Women's Igloo 6," *Pioneers of Alaska – Juneau*, n.d., http://www.pioneersofalaskajuneau.org/
[517] Hannah L. Mitson, "Dashed Hopes for a Jewish Immigration Haven in Alaska," *Alaska History* 14 (Spring/Fall 1999)

This influence is also reflected in the built environment. The Pioneer Pavilion at Sandy Beach (Savvikko Park/Jimmy Manning Fields[518]) in Douglas, funded by civic and commercial sponsors, commemorates the organization but seemingly excludes acknowledgment of Indigenous or Native organizations; the original park plans from 2009/2010 in general have this problem[519]. But, it is literally built on top of the lands that used to be part of "Tlinkat Ave"[520] and the Douglas Indian Village. Its placement, design, and plaque underscore the Pioneers' ongoing role in framing local history, reinforcing a narrative accidentally or implicitly centered on white settler experiences while sidelining the contributions of people of color and Indigenous communities. While there may be better acknowledgement and efforts by them in very recent work and future plans, they may have a lot further to discuss and untangle when it comes to the framework of many of their organizations historical narratives and individuals representing their organization. While we already have a number of other sources in a companion write-up, further research by others could be done on their impact on the generally accepted historical narrative of Alaska, especially in regards to possible revisionism.

The purpose of the Pioneers is

"to preserve the names of all Alaska's pioneers on its rolls; to collect and preserve the literature and incidents of our history; and to promote the best interests of Alaska."

The Pioneers of Alaska is a fraternal organization that gathers and preserves the relics and early history of Alaska and works for the betterment of all Alaskans.

(Mission Statement/Description of the Pioneers that is on their Webpages.)

[518] Yvonne Krumrey, "The Douglas Ballpark Was Once Named for a Star Lingít Athlete. Community Members Hope to Restore His Legacy," KTOO, February 13, 2024, https://www.ktoo.org/2023/11/17/jimmy-manning-juneau-baseball-savikko-park/

[519] Margaret Tharp, CBJ, R&M Engineering, David Stone, Rick Urion, and Alaska Historical Library, *Savikko Park/Sandy Beach/Treadwell Mine Historic Trail Master Plan* (Prepared for the City & Borough of Juneau, Juneau, Alaska: Parks & Recreation Advisory Committee, 2008)

[520] "Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Douglas, Juneau Census Division, Alaska." Map. *Library of Congress*. Sanborn Map Company, 1914. https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn00116_001/.

Moreover, while Douglas hosts both a Masonic Cemetery and an Odd Fellows Cemetery[521], all of the Douglas-based Masons listed on the charter are interred either in Evergreen Cemetery on the Juneau side of the channel or elsewhere[522]. This is noteworthy in the context that the Douglas Masonic Cemetery directly borders the Catholic Cemetery.

What also sets them apart from other Klan members in the United States at the time, is their consistent political alignment. Nearly all were Republicans or were closely engaged with Republican Party affairs. While Klan activity is often framed, sometimes reductively in the big 2025, as a phenomenon associated primarily with Democratic politics, the evidence here reveals significant influence among Republican officeholders and within the territorial Republican Party.

A further point of concern arises from the small size of the community. Many of the individuals discussed above served on juries, thus participating directly in the adjudication of local legal matters. Pair this with the known instance discussed earlier pertaining to John Gasper, it is troubling.

While some could argue that again, these people represent such a small sample of the population in the Juneau-Douglas area, a cell of registered Klansmen did exist as we've already discussed. According to Data extrapolated from a 1930 *Washington Post*[523] Article, 31 members were enrolled in Alaska in 1926, a number that doubled by 1927, and peaked to 103 in 1928; however, this number fell to 23 in 1929 and further dropped to 17 in 1930. While going back and referencing Mac Metcalfe, in his 2009 *Juneau Empire* article on the Klan in Juneau; he states, "Juneau-Douglas membership reached it's peak 103 members in 1928 (out of an approximate population of 5,500) and by 1930 membership declined to 17, according to a 1930 article in the Washington post."[524] If the figure of 103 refers specifically to the Juneau-Douglas chapter (Mt. Juneau Klan No. 2), crunching numbers creates more troublesome figures.

Metcalfe cites the population at the time as approximately 5,500, while other sources estimate around 3,000 residents in Juneau and between 500 and 900 in Douglas during the 1920s. Averaging these figures produces a working estimate of roughly 4,500 people in the Juneau-Douglas area during this period. If 103 of them were indeed affiliated with the Klan, then approximately 2.29 percent of the local population were Klansmen. Applying that same proportion to today's Juneau-Douglas population of around 31,414 would translate to just over 700 Klansmen, approximately 719 individuals, operating within a secret society.

For additional perspective, the Juneau-Gastineau Rotary Club has only about 50-60 active members, there are roughly 2,600 tribal citizens currently residing in the area, and the local Masonic bodies

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[521] CBJ Engineering Dept., Addendum to RFP for Electronic Mapping Services, Evergreen Cemetery (C3), RFP No. E15-249 (City and Borough of Juneau, April 28, 2015), https://juneau.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/20150428052921-4.pdf

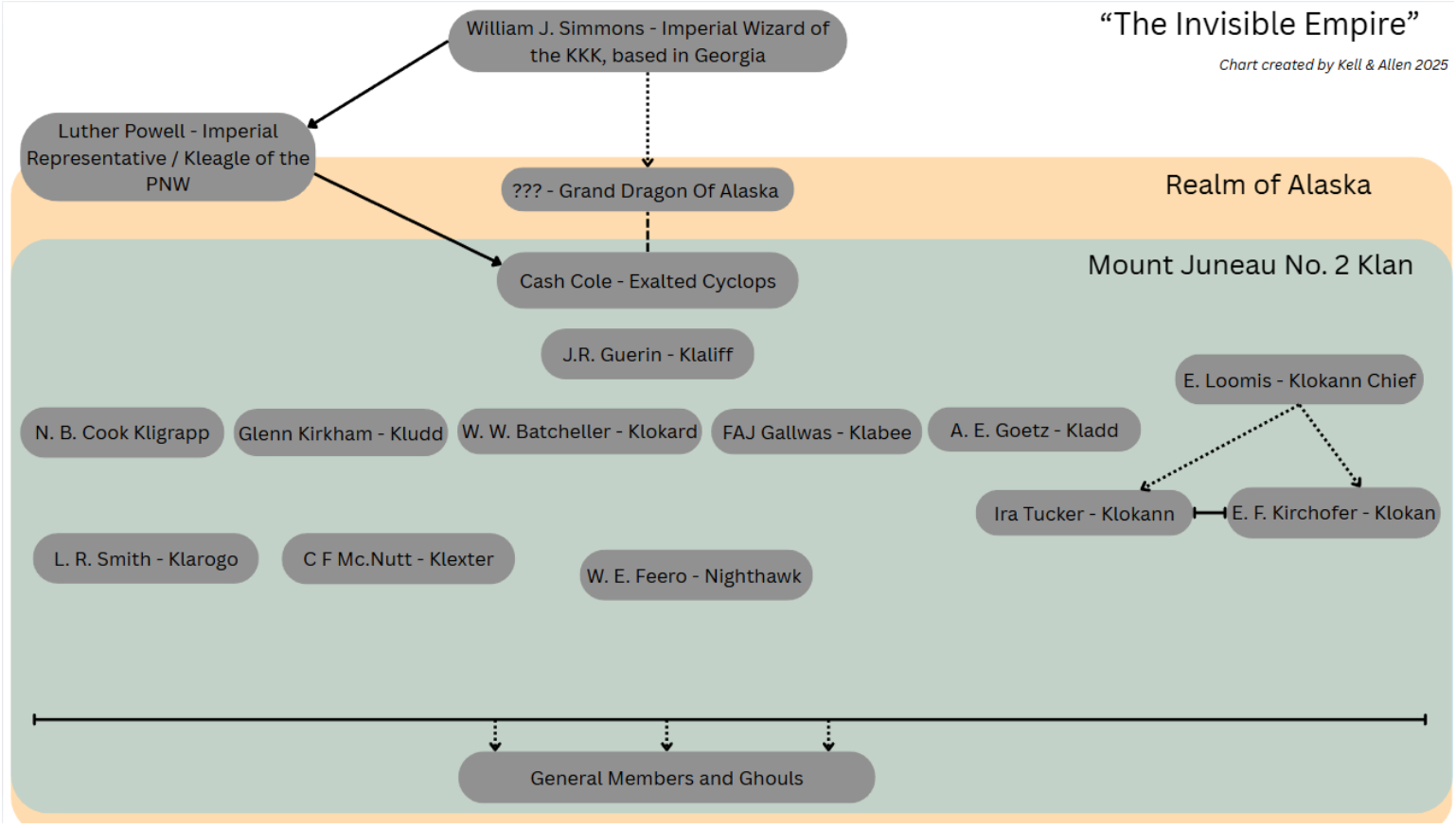
[522] CBJ Parks and Recreation. "Evergreen Cemetery: Public Search - Juneau, Alaska." Juneau, n.d

[523] Moores, *History of the Ku Klux Klan in Maine*, 1950

[524] "The Ku Klux Klan in Juneau," *Juneau Empire,* 2009

seemingly together have just over 1,500 members. Highly visible civic groups today, such as the “Save Telephone Hill” coalition, have only 48 members on their public Facebook page as of November of 2025, while the Pioneers of Alaska Igloo 6 list roughly 25 officers currently. All of these groups are well known and active within the community despite their comparatively small membership. Given this context, a Klan chapter comprising over one hundred members in a much smaller 1920s Juneau-Douglas population is not a figure to easily dismiss.

A final point of interest emerged during research on these individuals. While examining death records, burial sites, and headstones to gather additional information regarding full names, religious affiliations, and Masonic or fraternal associations, I observed that the majority of Mt. Juneau Klan members whose graves are documented on the website *Find a Grave* received anonymous floral tributes around February of 2025. This pattern appears specific to these members and, in some cases, their spouses. Although the motivations remain unclear, the consistency in timing and frequency suggests a deliberate action rather than mere coincidence.


“The Invisible Empire”
Chart created by Kell & Allen 2025
William J. Simmons - Imperial Wizard of the KKK, based in Georgia
Luther Powell - Imperial Representative / Kleagle of the PNW
??? - Grand Dragon Of Alaska
Realm of Alaska
Cash Cole - Exalted Cyclops
Mount Juneau No. 2 Klan
J.R. Guerin - Klaliff
E. Loomis - Klokann Chief
N. B. Cook Kligrapp
Glenn Kirkham - Kludd
W. W. Batcheller - Klokard
FAJ Gallwas - Klabee
A. E. Goetz - Kladd
Ira Tucker - Klokann
E. F. Kirchofer - Klokan
L. R. Smith - Klarogo
C F Mc.Nutt - Klexter
W. E. Feero - Nighthawk
General Members and Ghouls

(Flow Chart of Leadership and Power Structure, created by self)

1925/24 - Mr. Troy goes to the Washington &
NO ROOM IN ALASKA FOR THE KU KLUX KLAN, a Complicated Sequel

Troy's role in this is a semi tricky one to fully pin down. While as stated earlier, he seemed to have no mind in sharing information and urging others that perhaps the right thing to do is to platform a White Man's Ticket and other complex feelings towards Native peoples rights, it does seem that where he draws the line in that is with the Ku Klux Klan.

Back in 1924 John W. Troy was vote to be a representative for Alaska in the Democratic convention that year in New York. 1924's Democratic convention was a chaotic[525] and packed affair, covering a number of vivacious issues; the one though on most everyone's mind was regarding the Ku Klux Klan.

The 1924 Democratic National Convention, often termed the "Klanbake," revealed the profound sectional, religious, and ideological fissures within the Democratic Party during the early twentieth century. Central to these tensions was a proposed platform plank explicitly condemning the Ku Klux Klan, whose political resurgence in the early 1920s had gained substantial influence, particularly among white Protestant constituencies in the South and Midwest[526]. Urban, Catholic, and progressive delegates, many aligned with New York Governor Al Smith, viewed the Klan as antithetical to democratic principles and sought to force the party to take a moral stand by naming it directly. Opponents, including many supporters of William Gibbs McAdoo, resisted on the grounds that such a denunciation would fracture the party and alienate voters in regions where the Klan maintained strong cultural or political legitimacy.

The resulting vote, which narrowly rejected the anti-Klan plank by a margin of 546.15 to 542.85[527], dramatized the party's near-even split and precipitated an atmosphere of hostility that engulfed the convention[528]. Its failure not only damaged the party's national image but also underscored the difficulty of reconciling its heterogeneous coalition in an era of rising nativism, religious intolerance, and regional polarization. The bitter dispute contributed to the convention's protracted deadlock, ultimately requiring a record 103 ballots to nominate a compromise candidate, John W. Davis, and signaled the long-term realignment pressures that would reshape the Democratic Party in subsequent decades[529].

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[525] *The Austin Statesman*, "One Fist Fight Breaks Monotony of Convention Balloting" Austin, Texas, June 30, 1924.
[526] David J. Goldberg, *Discontented America: The United States in the 1920s*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999
[527] *The Austin Statesman*, "Passion Roused by Klan Battle Leave Few Scars" Austin, Texas, June 30, 1924.
[528] *Official Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention* (1924)
[529] Dewey W. Grantham, "The Life and Death of the Solid South: A Political History" (1988). Political History. 5. https://uknowledge.uky.edu/upk_political_history/5

Troy is there amongst the ruckus and is reported on the list of those thirteen who signed the Anti-Klan plank and was a member of those who submitted the minority report for adopting the Anti-Klan plank[530]. The Territory of Alaska all together had six votes available and all six voted "yea". "On the roll call those favoring the plank containing the name of the K. K. K. voted 'yea' and those favouring the plank brought in by the committee majority voted 'nay'." (*Evening Star*, 1924.)[531] Again though, the Anti-Klan plank would fail at the Democratic convention that year by one vote unfortunately[532].

Having had a "front-row seat," so to speak, to one of the most tumultuous Democratic National Conventions in American history, Troy appears to have emerged with renewed anti-Klan conviction. Shortly after Luther Powell's arrival in Alaska in May 1925, a substantial new editorial appeared in the

[530] Tuskegee Institute. *Tuskegee Institute News Clippings File, 1899–1966*. Microfilm Collection. Tuskegee Institute Archives, Tuskegee, Ala. ("Ku Klux Klan – 1924").
[531] *Evening Star*, "Votes by State and Territories Upon Naming Klan in Platform," Washington D. C., June 29, 1924
[532] *San Angelo Evening Star*, "Anti-Klan Plank Fails by One Vote" San Angelo, Texas, June 29, 1924

Alaska Daily Empire, again titled, as it was in 1922[533], "NO ROOM IN ALASKA FOR THE KU KLUX KLAN." As he had done earlier, Troy warned residents to remain wary of unfamiliar agitators and reiterated his belief that the Klan represented the "antithesis of everything that is American."[534] Almost certainly influenced by what he had witnessed in New York in 1924 and in the national papers, he cautioned that "whenever the Ku Klux Klan enters a community or State trouble begins immediately… People who were friends yesterday become deadly enemies. Hate takes the place of brotherly love. Contention succeeds cooperation. Progress stops."

Troy emphasized that the Territory already faced significant challenges and could not afford the "volatile element" the Klan brought with it; one that threatened to divert attention from Alaska's real and pressing issues in favour of race and religious othering . He envisioned both Juneau, and the broader Alaskan community, as places where "all American citizens, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, should put shoulder to shoulder in the work for the common good." Allowing the Klan to gain influence, he argued, would "delay Alaska development indefinitely." While that prediction did not play out exactly in terms of "indefinitely", the organization's presence, as demonstrated throughout this paper, did shape the development of several communities and individuals, contributing to cycles of social disruption that echoed into the 1960s and, in some respects, even into the present. Troy reiterated his earlier concerns from 1922: that any political organization operating behind masks and secret membership rolls could bring no genuine benefit to American civic life.

He concluded by asking whether Alaskans, with so much essential work before them, could truly expect any good to come from abandoning cooperation for the conflicts that followed in the Klan's wake. "Can any one in Alaska, where there is so much to do that is worth while, see one good thing that can come to the Territory by turning from the work that we have to do, which demands co-operation and harmony, to fight over things that follow in the wake of the organization? Will they permit a stranger who knows nothing of Alaska conditions or problems and who has not the slightest interest in the Territory come here and interfere with development by introducing strife and turmoil? WE DO NOT BELIEVE IT."[535] As the historical record shows, however, a number of Alaskans *did* believe it, and acted in ways that fulfilled precisely the dangers Troy had warned against.

Similar to 1922, throughout the Summer into the Fall, Troy would re-publish several articles that typically were anti-Klan near the editorial section, that focused on issues from the Oregon School

[533] *Alaska Daily Empire*, "No Room in Alaska for Ku Klux Klan", Juneau, Alaska, September 2, 1922.
[534] *Alaska Daily Empire*, "No Room in Alaska for Ku Klux Klan", Juneau, Alaska, May 20, 1924.
[535] *Alaska Daily Empire*, "No Room in Alaska for Ku Klux Klan", Juneau, Alaska, May 20, 1924.

Decision[536] to issues with the Klan in Indiana[537] and what could the Ku Klux Klan question due to the Democratic party if they do not keep them out[538]. Other pieces were direct editorials addressing the activities of the Ku Klux Klan in Alaska. In one brief editorial from August, Troy expresses concern over the Klan's attempts to portray itself as a kind of auxiliary law-enforcement body. As he had in 1922, Troy rejects the new organization's claim to be the legitimate successor of the post–Civil War Klan founded by General Nathan Bedford Forrest[539]. His tone is particularly notable: he argues that even the original Klan did not publicly style itself as an arm of "law and order," and he is troubled by the modern Klan's effort to legitimize itself through that framing.

Troy also highlights what he sees as a deep irony. The second-wave Klan loudly champions "law and order" and invokes the U.S. Constitution, especially when supporting the Eighteenth Amendment and Prohibition, yet simultaneously disregards key constitutional protections. In Troy's view, the organization ignores or violates the First Amendment's guarantees of free expression, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments' protections of citizenship and voting rights, and the Fourth Amendment's safeguard against unreasonable searches.

In an earlier section of this paper in discussion about the "Lily-Whites" vs the "Illiterate Native" I posed the question: Could someone be Pro-White Man's Party and Anti-KKK simultaneously? Survey says: Yes.

The Political stage in it's entirety of the now 250 year run it's had in the United States has rarely had movements, individuals, and moments that truly were simple black and white. The landscape then and now is full of contradiction, oddities, one offs, and nobody seemingly is solely in one category or another, as much as they market themselves as such. In the summer of 1925 M. J. O'Connor former Mayor of Douglas (1908-12, 1913-15, 1916-17[540]) was invited to be a guest at the Chamber of Commerce luncheon at the Arcade Cafe on July 26th; where "Some matters of importance are expected to be taken up at the meeting." At this point in time he has actually become a resident of Bellingham Washington but still has many friends on both sides of the Channel[541].

It was reported "Politics and religion, taboo subjects, boldly made their way into today's meeting of the Juneau Chamber of Commerce. But it wasn't partisan politics nor sectarian religion."[542] that Friday.

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[536] *Alaska Daily Empire*, "Oregon School Decision", Juneau, Alaska, Originally in the *San Francisco Bulletin*, June 12, 1925.
[537] *Alaska Daily Empire*, "Is this true Indiana?", Juneau, Alaska, Originally in the *New York Times*, November 24, 1925.
[538] *Alaska Daily Empire*, "The Future of the Democratic Party", Juneau, Alaska, Originally in the *New York World*, December 18, 1925.
[539] *Alaska Daily Empire*, "K. K. K. and Law Enforcement", Juneau, Alaska, August 31, 1925.
[540] *The Political Graveyard*, "Including Douglas."
[541] *Daily Alaska Empire*, "O'Connor to be Guest of Chamber Tomorrow," Juneau, Alaska, June 25, 1925
[542] *Daily Alaska Empire*, "O'Connor Urges White Unity in Next Election" Juneau, Alaska, June 26, 1925

Now this is where it gets seemingly contradictory. While O'Connor apologized apparently for bringing up these topics in a meeting setting like this, he simultaneously argued that they were too important for the Chamber and the citizens of Alaska to ignore. He urged members to set aside political differences in order to unite "against the menace of a controlled massed Indian vote," while also expressing "equally emphatic in his denunciation of the Ku Klux Klan." This combination may seem unexpected, yet it underscores a broader point: as discussed elsewhere in this paper, formally joining the KKK during this period was an *active additional commitment* to racist ideology. Many individuals of the time already held prejudiced views against minority groups, particularly Alaska Natives, but choosing to formally affiliate with the Ku Klux Klan represented a deliberate and defining step in endorsing and institutionalizing those beliefs.

O'Connor simultaneously urged, "Get rid of Willie [William Paul] and Dan for Alaska's Good," while cautioning against allowing any organization to dictate divisive actions or exacerbate disruption within the community. Notably, this statement was made in June, prior to the official chartering of Mount Juneau Klan No. 2 in September, during a period when Luther Powell was actively attempting to organize Klaverns in the Territory[543]. O'Connor specifically remarked, "Since my arrival I have found that you have fallen heir to another organization [The KKK] that is not going to do you any good." This observation underscores that the Ku Klux Klan was already active and recognized in Alaska at the time. He had both witnessed and heard of their presence in the Territory, showing us another thread again, that the Klan was operating within Juneau and Douglas communities in the 1920s.

O'Connor praises the success of the Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions and the Chamber of Commerce for fully combatting and ousting the Klan from their ranks. Notably, aside from the Chamber of Commerce, this short list does not include any of the various organizations nor fraternal groups our Juneau-Douglas Klan members are primarily part of. He shares his experiences back in Bellingham, which was a hot-bed for strong Klan activity in the 1920s, saying that the Klan's ranks there are limited to the "riff raff with whom a self respecting man would not desire to associate."[544] Going back through our other research and some additional newspapers, it does seem that post 1920, M. J. O'Connor has limited to no interaction with any of those on our Klan list, even the Douglas folks; as far as general searches can yield.

His address to the Chamber of Commerce also illuminates several complexities specific to Klan activity in Alaska. Although evidence exists of cross burnings, discriminatory laws, possible jailings, and conveniently timed "natural causes" of property loss that disproportionately affected non-white residents, there is no indication of Night Rides, lynchings, or other forms of direct physical violence typically associated with the Klan elsewhere, that we know of. Instead, their influence in Alaska appears to have

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[543] *Seward Daily Gateway*, "Ku Klux Klan Organizer To Form Klan Here", Seward, Alaska, August 5, 1925.
[544] *Daily Alaska Empire*, "O'Connor Urges White Unity in Next Election" Juneau, Alaska, June 26, 1925

operated primarily through the creation and reinforcement of systemic inequities. O'Connor's contradictory stance, condemning the Klan while also declaring, "Forget that you are Democrats and Republicans and beat the red man. Get together for the sake of Juneau and Alaska", reflects his perception that the Klan's presence in the Territory was primarily harmful because it fomented religious and social division. As he warned, "Don't let them creep in. Any organization that fosters religious dissent is evil." Adverse to racial. With the last name "O'Connor" I do wonder if any of this world view comes from him being possibly Catholic or at least related to any fellow Irish Catholics…

This dynamic is echoed in Troy's editorial in the subsequent edition of the paper.[545]. "He notes that O'Connor "still has interests on the Gastineau Channel, and he was speaking for the good of all who have interest in this Territory—particularly those who live here." Troy agrees with the sentiment that for the sake of the future of Juneau, and Alaska at large, that "It is time for the white people, those who are living in the country and expect to continue to live in it, to forget that they are Democrats or Republicans, Christians or others, Catholics or Protestants, and to unite against the menace of a 'controlled massed Indian vote.'" He then commends O'Connor's denunciation of the Klan, something Troy himself had been expressing in the *Daily Alaska Empire* for the past four to five years now at this point. In his characteristically forceful editorial style, Troy adds that O'Connor's assertion that the Ku Klux Klan is nothing but trouble and has no place in Alaska is a truth "so self-evident that its truth should be apparent to all intelligent people without argument or discussion of any kind."[546] This made me pause and realize that aside from typical paper reporting, that so far in research Troy seemingly isn't too "buddy-buddy" with anyone on the Klan list either. Yet, despite his criticisms of the organization, he concludes the editorial with the assertion that "Alaska must avoid the menace of control by the Indian—she must get rid of Will and Dan." In doing so, Troy brings the discussion full circle, returning to the central tensions surrounding the Native vote and the political influence of William Paul during this period.

Although the subject warrants far more extensive treatment, a fuller discussion is better suited to a dedicated paper or monograph. Within the scope of this study, however, it is necessary to acknowledge the issue to the extent that it forms an integral part of the broader historical context. A plausible explanation for the relative underreporting of Ku Klux Klan activity in Alaska is that the organization did not engage in the overt acts of violence or public marches in full regalia that characterized Klan presence elsewhere. Despite this, its ideological alignment with racist attitudes and prevailing fears and anxieties surrounding Native peoples appears to have played a role in maintaining existing structures of social inequality. In such a context, many white Protestants may have been willing to overlook or minimize the Klan's influence, as doing so preserved the social status quo, reinforced their sense of racial superiority,

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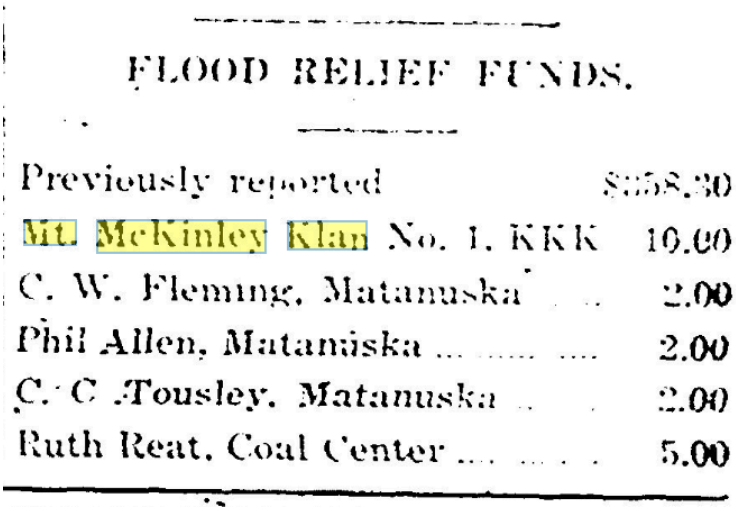
[545] *Daily Alaska Empire*, "Mr. O'Connor's Speech" Juneau, Alaska, June 27, 1925
[546] *Daily Alaska Empire*, "Mr. O'Connor's Speech" Juneau, Alaska, June 27, 1925

and indirectly supported efforts to undermine figures such as William Paul and the broader Native rights movement. Furthermore, O'Connor's direct reference to Paul in conjunction with his discussion of the Ku Klux Klan lends additional support to the likelihood that Paul was aware of the existence of the charter, and perhaps even knew the identities of those associated with it. Relevant documentation is most likely contained within Paul's papers, which are held at a university in Washington State.

"Kluxing in Alaska" - Mt. Mckinley Klan no. 1

While Juneau is the only location that has a physical charter surviving, that we know of, they obviously aren't the only ones with a Klan. As touched on earlier when thinking about how many of the Juneau folks' wives were in the same circles there is confirmation that there is W.K.K.K Chapter[547], alongside a regular Klavern, in Anchorage Alaska by 1926 under "Mount McKinley Klan, no.1" Though if Juneau is number 2 and we know their charter with Powell was signed in 1925, paired with some other papers, the Anchorage Klan was probably active before 1926. Most likely forming between 1922 and 1925.

When Discussing Klan activity in Anchorage its typically relegated to the newer Klan under Johnny Lee Clary as racial tensions in Anchorage flared in the 1980s over wanting to name a civic center after Dr. Martin Luther King[548]. The Klan even opened a recruitment center there, which most sources will say was the first time the Klan had officially formed in Anchorage. Compare that to the *Kourier* paper entries and a few other newspaper articles in Alaska, we know that Klan arrived in Tent City 50 or so years before that.



FLOOD RELIEF FUNDS.

Previously reported	$358.30
Mt. McKinley Klan No. 1, K K K	10.00
C. W. Fleming, Matanuska	2.00
Phil Allen, Matanuska	2.00
C. C. Tousley, Matanuska	2.00
Ruth Reat, Coal Center	5.00

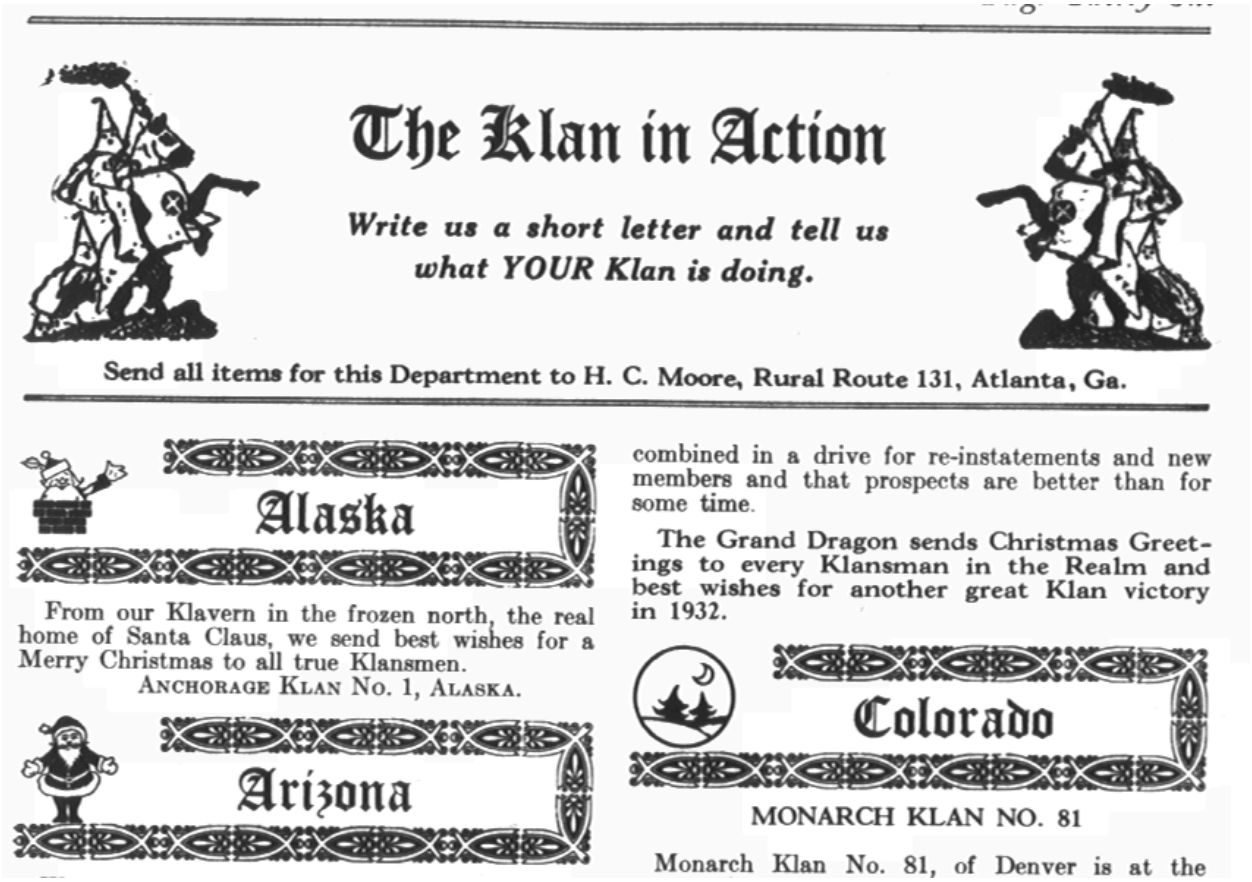
[547] "Kluxing in Alaska," *The Fellowship Forum*, January 14, 1928
[548] *Anchorage Times*, "Ku Klux Klan mailouts show group testing Alaska waters," Anchorage, Alaska, November 21, 1987

In 1927 the Mt. McKinley Klan even appear in a Saturday paper from May, 28th, in a list of organizations and individuals that donated to a flood relief campaign[549]. Topping the list at donating Ten Dollars; adjusted for inflation, that would be just under two-hundred in today's money.

Another example of confirmation of their early activities was a Special article sent to the Fellowship Forum from someone in their ranks. "Kluxing in Alaska" is the title of an article from January 14th, 1928. The small article goes on to say, "The Exalted Cyclops of Mt. McKinley Klan No. 1 and his officers are outlining an active program for the winter and much enjoyment is anticipated. A local representative of Mr. Comer has begun active work for the purpose of increasing membership of the local Klan. The organization, even now, is in splendid condition both as to membership and financial standing."[550]
Mr. Comer was the head of the Arkansas Ku Klux Klux Klan in the 1920s. According to the encyclopedia of Arkansas,

"In the fall of 1922, Comer was among a small number of Klan leaders who wrested control of the national Klan from its founder William Simmons and invested a Texas dentist, Hiram Evans, with the top post of Imperial Wizard. Thereafter, Comer was in the Klan's inner circle, the executive council. This body, the Kloncilium, revised the Klan's financial structure to give Grand Dragons a cut of membership dues. Comer was amply rewarded in other ways. Evans tasked Comer to make plans for a women's auxiliary, and Comer chartered the Women of the Ku Klux Klan (WKKK), with its headquarters in Little Rock, in June 1923. He secured the Imperial Commander role for a Little Rock woman, Lulu Markwell. When she resigned the next year, he pushed forward a stenographer in his law office, Robbie Gill, as Imperial Commander. In 1924 he chartered a Klan auxiliary for foreign-born white Protestants, the American Krusaders, with his office as its national headquarters. He also served as vice president of a Klan insurance company. Comer became a wealthy man through various income streams associated with the Ku Klux Klan."[551] Curious to know who Comer's Alaska representative is and what other connections they made in Alaska, or if this individual is localized to assisting the Klan in the Anchorage area.

[549] *Anchorage Daily Times*, "Flood Relief," Anchorage, Alaska, May 28, 1927
[550] "Kluxing in Alaska" *The Fellowship Forum*, January 14, 1928
[551] "James A. Comer (1866–1935)," *Encyclopedia of Arkansas*, https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/james-a-comer-12260/



The Klan in Action

Write us a short letter and tell us what YOUR Klan is doing.

Send all items for this Department to H. C. Moore, Rural Route 131, Atlanta, Ga.

Alaska

From our Klavern in the frozen north, the real home of Santa Claus, we send best wishes for a Merry Christmas to all true Klansmen.

ANCHORAGE KLAN NO. 1, ALASKA.

Arizona

combined in a drive for re-instatements and new members and that prospects are better than for some time.

The Grand Dragon sends Christmas Greetings to every Klansman in the Realm and best wishes for another great Klan victory in 1932.

Colorado

MONARCH KLAN NO. 81

Monarch Klan No. 81, of Denver is at the

We know the Anchorage Klan in it's second wave is active through 1931, as they submit to *The Kourier Magazine* a Merry Christmas notice from their, "Klavern in the frozen north, the real home of Santa Claus,"[552] that appears in that December's edition.

Earlier that year in March was another article submitted to *The Kourier Magazine* from an "R. H. N." who apparently says he served as the Exalted Cyclops for the McKinley Klan in the Realm of Alaska for two years. "I am in good standing and hope to continue that way. All my mail is still received at Anchorage, where I have a home and where my wife and five children now reside."[553] the title of his entry is "Four Feet of Snow and Still Active." and though he speaks of Anchorage, the top of his submission is from Houston, Alaska at the Lucky Shot Mine "25 miles from Houston off the Railroad." As an Alaskan it's interesting to see the very familiar description and talk about being off the main roads and railway, where the snow hills are deep, and most any time he wants to see others or get places and things is by dog team and sled; but that often these trips are to make sure he receives his latest issue of the *Kourier*. Like this is concerted effort then to remain as member and engaged with it's activities.

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552 "The Klan in Action - Alaska" *The Kourier Magazine*, December, 1931, p. 31

553 "ALASKA - 'Al-ay-es-ka' Great Country" *The Kourier Magazine*, March, 1931, p. 33

He continues on though that his job at the mine is in the Kitchen and that is the only work he could get, "Due to my connection with the K-K-K, persecution in various forms have been inflicted on me and mine, but we have not given up, far from it." He says he's been a member since 1925, around the time of main Klan round-up effort with Luther Powell in Alaska, though he's been a subscriber of the Kourier for a long time and that "May God be with every movement of the Klan."[554] He signs, "FY, ITSUB., R. H. N.". I am assuming the last three letters are his initials. I believe "FY" is short hand for "Forever Yours" and then according to the Anti-Defamation League of America "ITSUB" is "Ku Klux Klan acronym for 'In The Sacred Unfailing Being,' a reference to God. It is one of many Klan acronyms created by the Second Ku Klux Klan that emerged in 1915. That Klan did not survive, but subsequent Ku Klux Klan groups continued many of its rituals and codes. Today, ITSUB has no real meaning or particular purpose and is typically used by Klan group members in on-line messages or posts solely as a way to identify themselves with the Ku Klux Klan. This has been the fate of a number of similar ancient Klan acronyms."[555]

Then in a semi editorial fashion is added a note: "Four feet of snow, 25 miles from a railroad, working in a mine kitchen to support family, persecuted for his belief and still a loyal Klansman. What other Order can show such devotion? Hats off to the brother from the frozen north." attributed to a "H. C. M."[556] This truly shows the dedication that some members maintained in even the most remote corners of Alaska into the early 30s; both shocking and kind of sad.

A BURNING CROSS

The phenomena of the Ku Klux Klan cross burning started specifically with the second wave of the KKK during the 1920s. Possibly replicating the practice seen in Scotland, where starting in the 14th century different Scottish tribes would burn crosses as signaling devices, often meaning one was going to war.

In *Birth of a Nation* the imagery was put back in motion during the infamous scene of the Knights capturing a black man (played by a white man in blackface) who had lustfully pursued a white woman.[557] It is then they lynch him in front of a burning cross, officially marrying the KKK to this imagery. According to the *Encyclopedia of the First Amendment*,

"Not long after the film's appearance, a cross was burned on Stone Mountain, outside Atlanta, Georgia. Shortly thereafter, a cross was burned in nearby Marietta, Georgia, to celebrate the lynching of Leo Frank, a Jewish factory manager who had been accused of raping and killing a white Christian girl."[558]

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[554] "ALASKA" *The Kourier Magazine*
[555] Anti-Defamation League. "ITSUB." *Hate Symbols Database*
[556] "ALASKA" *The Kourier Magazine*
[557] *The Birth of a Nation.* 1915
[558] John R. Vile, David L. Hudson Jr., and David Schultz, eds., *Encyclopedia of the First Amendment* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2009)

Crosses were burned at lynchings, gathering ceremonies, celebrations, as well as often used in visible areas as an attempt to strike fear into the marginalized communities they hated and wanted them to know that they had a nearby presence …Think of it as a calling card for violence. Sometimes too though, these could be used for advertisement of an upcoming rally or action as well. As discussed by Kylie Kinley for the official history of Nebraska website; a cross burning they had in July of 1924 in Platte Valley was "the Klan's attempt to advertise an upcoming rally. They took out ads in the newspapers, too, but burning crosses earned them free publicity through extensive newspaper coverage."[559]

(Cross Burning in Rural Pennsylvania, 1920s)

There are at least four incidents of Cross Burnings in Alaska in the 1920s that we can currently find. There are two mentioned in the "Kinky" Bayers Papers, only one of which has a small article dedicated to it in the Empire, and then one mentioned in the Cordova papers and another in Seward. (While there may be a 5th, as rumoured in a 2011 article for the *Alaska Bar-Rag*; Kelly Taylor says, "There was a rumor — not confirmed by J.J. himself — that members of the Ku Klux Klan burned a cross in front of his home on the night of the mayoral election. But whatever the resistance to his candidacy, J.J. was elected and served as mayor of Anchorage from 1929-32."[560] and currently we haven't found any other papers that back this story up at this time.)

[559] Kylie Kinley, "When Nebraskans Celebrated July 4th with KKK Cross Burning," *History Nebraska*, https://history.nebraska.gov/when-nebraskans-celebrated-july-4th-with-kkk-cross-burning/
[560] Taylor, Kelly. "With Delaney's Passing, a Chapter of Anchorage History Closes." *Alaska Bar Rag*, 2011, Volume 25 edition, sec. 1. https://alaskabar.org/wp-content/uploads/Jan-March-2011-Alaska-Bar-Rag.pdf.

November 3rd, 1925 a small article with title, "FLAMING CROSS BURNS CORDOVA" appears on the front page of the *Seward Daily Gateway*. The article simply states,

"The flaming cross of the Ku Klux Klan was seen for the first time in the history of Cordova Sunday night, burning on a hill near town."[561] Seemingly it's not brought up again nor elaborated on. A common theme with these events; while other events down south seem to have more fanfare and fear coverage in the papers, all the Cross burnings in Alaska are written about in the papers in a brief fashion, and never elaborated on nor followed up with any police reports or extensive eye-witness accounts. Currently, newspapers from Cordova in the 1920s are available only through 1923 on *Chronicling America* and comparable digital repositories. After consulting the microfiche in person, I was able to locate the article in a later issue of the *Cordova Daily Times*, where it appeared approximately forty-eight hours afterward in a similarly brief notice titled, "Flaming Cross Erected on Hill" and it differs from the *Seward Daily Gateway* account. The Cordova article says, "Sight of the flaming cross on Monument Hill at about 10 o'clock last night caused considerable comment and speculation on part of the after-theatre crowd. It is understood that the local organization of the Ku Klux Klan held an initiation ceremony last night and that the cross was a feature of this. Twenty five members are said to have been taken in."[562]

While "Kinky" Bayers' notes indicate that a cross burning occurred on August 14, 1928, on the Juneau side of the channel, the same entry specifies that this was the second such display on the Gastineau Channel.[563] The *Alaska Daily Empire* reported: "This is the second time the 'Fiery Cross' has been displayed on the Gastineau Channel. Some years ago one was displayed on the hillside near Douglas." A similar account, with comparable phrasing, appears in the September 29, 1928 edition of the *Hyder Weekly*. In his own papers, Bayers clarifies: "This is the second one set off on the Channel. The first was burned two years ago on the hill back of Douglas…"[564] If this first cross burning occurred two years prior to 1928, it would have taken place in 1926, the same year the Douglas Indian Village was largely burned down, alongside parts of Treadwell[565], and following after the official Luther Powell-sponsored Klan charter was made active. The circumstances surrounding these events will be explored in greater detail in later materials we intend to additionally publish.

Unfortunately, aside from these brief mentions, there appears to be no additional documentation or contemporary reporting of a cross burning on Douglas in 1926. The most widely covered event that year remains the Village and Treadwell fire that fall. This absence of coverage may suggest that either the event went largely unnoticed or was deliberately not widely advertised. Another possible explanation is

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561 *Seward Daily Gateway*, "Flaming Cross Burns Cordova" Seward, Alaska, November 3, 1925
562 *Cordova Daily Times*, "Flaming Cross Erected on Hill" Cordova, Alaska, November, 1925
563 Bayers, "Captain Lloyd H. 'Kinky' Bayers Collection."
564 Bayers, "Captain Lloyd H. 'Kinky' Bayers Collection."
565 City & Borough of Juneau, *Douglas Townsite Historic Building Survey* (Juneau, AK: City & Borough of Juneau, September 1989) p. 4

geographical: a walk along the modern Douglas shores reveals that the area directly across the water between the Dock and Thane is relatively isolated, limiting the visibility of such a display.

In the *Seward Daily Gateway,* on February 14th, 1927 there is an article titled, "Burning Cross Makes First Appearance in City." followed by the text,

"The first evidence of the Ku Klux Klan activities in Seward was witnessed last evening at the conclusion of the first performance at the Liberty Theatre. As Patrons filed out into the street they were startled to see at the head of fourth avenue, a large flaming cross. The significance of the demonstration was not learned but it was conceded it served the purpose of informing the public of its existence in this locality. Generally the burning of a K.K.K. cross signifies a warning to the lawless element."[566]

No photographs accompanied the report, and the event was not covered in any other contemporary sources.

While researching this relatively unexplored but extensive topic, I came across a presentation by Dr. Michael Livingston, Cultural Heritage Specialist and Affiliate Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Alaska Anchorage, titled *"Benny Benson versus the Ku Klux Klan: Alaska's Seventh Grade Superhero,"* which was posted to YouTube in October 2025[567]. Dr. Livingston appears to have pursued lines of inquiry similar to those undertaken in this study, particularly after the Seward cross burning came to his attention through an inquiry about the mention of the KKK in *Family After All: Alaska's Jesse Lee Home, Unalaska, 1889–1925*.[568] Benny Benson, widely recognized in Alaska as the young Native boy who designed the state flag, was already subject to numeral racial pressures in Seward following the relocation of children's Jesse Lee Home from Unalaska to Seward, arriving there on September 30, 1925. While much of Dr. Livingston's research is beyond the scope of this paper, I encourage readers to consult his materials and presentations for a fuller understanding of his work. For the purposes of this section, however, his research suggests that the cross burning in Seward in February 1927 may be linked to the Alaska Flag Contest, during which Benson experienced racial discrimination for entering, placing, and ultimately winning the competition.

The next documented cross burning in the Juneau area occurred in 1928 and received more coverage than earlier incidents. On August 14, 1928, the *Alaska Daily Empire* published a brief but bolded article titled "K K K Burns First 'Fiery Cross' Near City." While it referenced a previous display on the Gastineau Channel "some years ago," the article primarily focused on the current incident saying,

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[566] *Seward Daily Gateway*, "Burning Cross Makes First Appearance in City" Seward, Alaska, February 14, 1927
[567] Livingston, Michael "*Benny Benson versus the Ku Klux Klan: Alaska's Seventh Grade Superhero*" 2025
[568] Jacquelin B. Pels, *Family After All: Alaska's Jesse Lee Home, Unalaska, 1889–1925* (Anchorage: University of Alaska Press, 2000), 723, Appendix 3

"The 'Fiery Cross' of the Ku Klux Klan was burned last night on the knob back of Starr Hill, the first one to be burned in Juneau. It was started about 10 o'clock last night, following the explosion of a heavy bomb in the vicinity to call attention it, probably."[569] Later, on September 29, 1928, the *Hyder Weekly Herald* reported:, "An attempt is being made by a representative of the Ku Klux Klan to revive interest in that order in Juneau. A fiery cross of the klan was burned on a knob back of Starr Hill."[570]

This incident largely went unacknowledged in Juneau history until 2009, when Mac Metcalfe published a two-part series in the *Neighbours* section of the *Juneau Empire's Capital City Weekly*. Both parts are currently only accessible for free via the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine and Newspapers.com. Part 1 exists in approximately 10–15 captures through webcrawlers and a few personal user saves, while Part 2 survives in a single webcrawler capture, making their availability largely a matter of chance. Accessing the original newspaper requires a paid Newspapers.com subscription unless one still possesses a personal copy from when it was printed in 2009.

In the March 22, 2009 article, Metcalfe referenced the same starting point as this research: the three mentions of Klan activity in the "Kinky" Bayers papers. He also noted that "a friend" had previously shown him a group photograph and the Klan charter. Having grown up as a Catholic in the Chicken Ridge/Starr Hill area, Metcalfe was familiar with St. Ann's Hospital and the local Catholic parochial school there. From his understanding, the 1928 cross burning at Starr Hill was a targeted message to the Catholic community.[571] He elaborated,

"The Klan found the Catholic school system particularly sinister. The Klan's Seattle newspaper stated in 1923 that Catholic schools were rearing a generation in illiteracy, ignorance and a lack of patriotism. Catholic children, the paper stated 'were being duped in Romanism,' a reference to the pope, a foreigner, ruling the Catholic Church from Rome. The Democratic presidential candidate in 1928 was Al Smith, a Roman Catholic.

It was beginning to look like the choice of Mount Maria, the knob, for the cross burning was no accident considering its proximity to the cluster of Catholic institutions at the foot of Starr Hill."[572]

Metcalf is almost certainly correct in the points outlined above; however, an additional and significant detail concerning the events at Starr Hill and the activities of the KKK on that evening remains absent from his account. Although Part II of his article briefly engages with several episodes discussed in this

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[569] *Daily Alaska Empire*, "K. K. K. Burns First 'Fiery Cross' Near City" Juneau, Alaska, August 14, 1928
[570] *Hyder Weekly Herald*, Hyder, Alaska, September 29, 1928
[571] "The Ku Klux Klan in Juneau," *Juneau Empire,* 2009
[572] "The Ku Klux Klan in Juneau," *Juneau Empire,* 2009

paper, such as Cash Cole's presence in the Charter, this treatment is limited. Again, while seemingly the most comprehensive version of those events out there it's unfortunately lacking another key piece.

REVERAND HANNA

Appearing in the August 13th, 1928 *Daily Alaskan Empire* under the title "K.K.K Lecturer Arrives in City" is the following;

"The Rev J. Murray Hanna of Bellingham, Wash., lecturer for the Ku Klux Klan arrived in Juneau on the Northwestern and will appear in the A. B. Hall for 14 Nights, beginning tomorrow night under the auspices of Mt. Juneau Klan No. 2. The Lecturer said the purpose of the meetings to be held here is to give all a 'real understanding of what the Ku Klux Klan is, as it is, and it's purposes.'"[573] (The only break in the programme was a Saturday, that happened to be the night of a community "Masquerade Ball" at the AB Hall…)

At first reading, the statement appears similar to those offered by various individuals who had come to town with comparable intentions, efforts that, as we have seen, often proved less effective than anticipated. What distinguishes this figure from Luther Powell or Odom and Cunningham, however, is that he is not an outsider. As the article continues,

"The Rev. Hanna was in Juneau in 1919, 1920, and 1921, employed by the Alaska Treadwell at the Nugget Creek Power house. After leaving Juneau, he was later on ordained as Evangelist of the Advent Christian Church. Two years ago he became active in the K. K. K. in Washington and was sent north by that organization to Juneau." Then on the 16th there is a seemingly random small article that adds the context, "Rev. J. Murrary Hanna, who is in Juneau lecturing for the Ku Klux Klan is a son of Mrs. T. W. White of this City."[574]

There are also several references in the newspaper archives to a "Murray Hanna," identified as a member and representative of the Protestant Church in Juneau during the early 1920s.

Thus, unlike his predecessors, he possessed direct ties to Juneau and may have been more integrated into the community than he chose to suggest. It is therefore noteworthy that his arrival and lecture series are entirely absent from Metcalfe's 2009 article, particularly given that the first night of his scheduled lectures coincides with the cross burning at Starr Hill. It remains unclear why this detail was omitted, especially considering that a prominent newspaper advertisement published at the time sets out Hanna's full lecture schedule. The connection between the opening night of his KKK activities in Juneau and the events at Starr Hill is neither obscure nor difficult to establish when paired with that advertisement.

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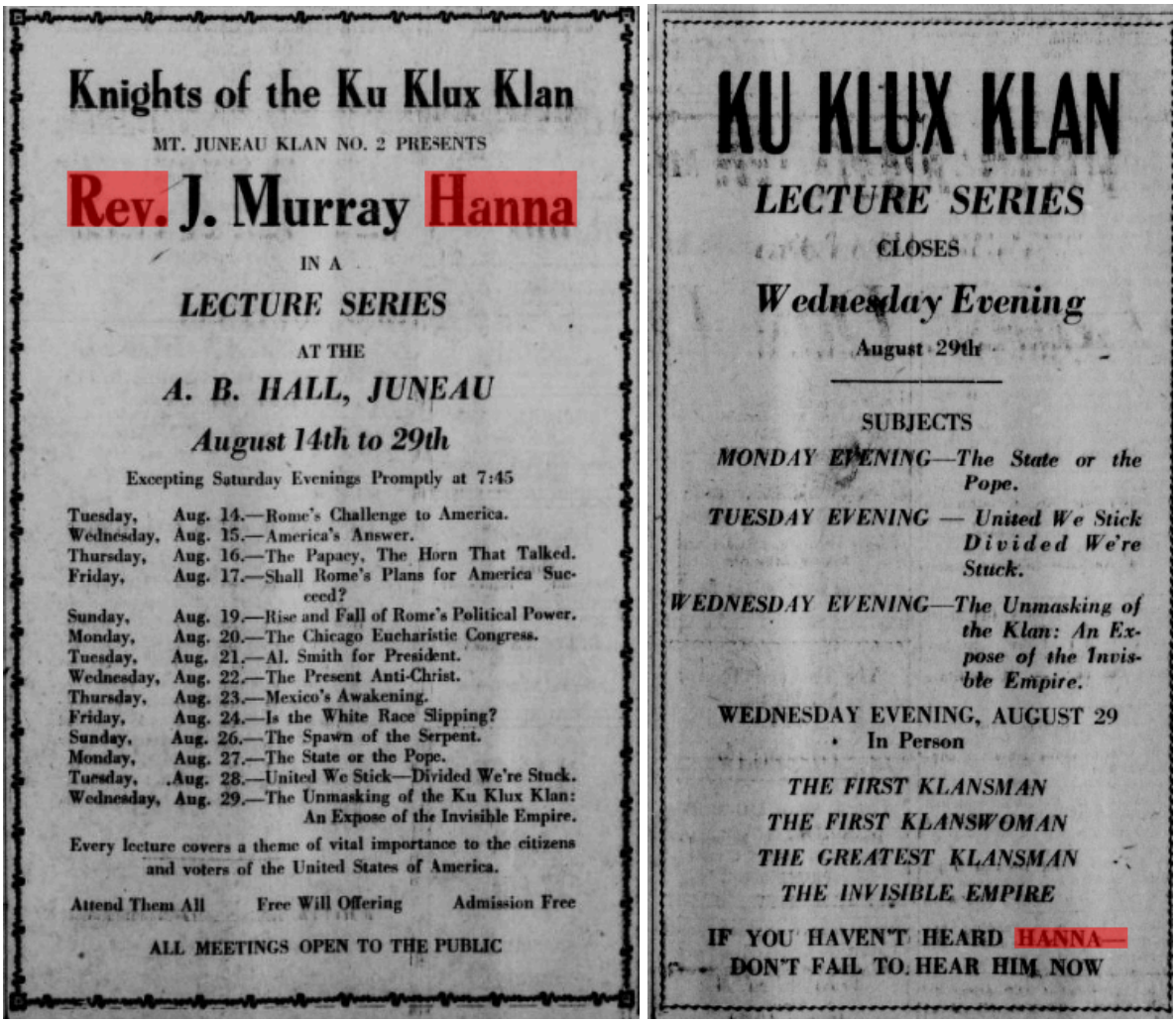
[573] *Daily Alaska Empire*, "K. K. K. Lecturer Arrives In City" Juneau, Alaska, August 13, 1928
[574] *Daily Alaska Empire*, "Son of Mrs. White" Juneau, Alaska, August 16, 1928

In the *Alaska Daily Empire* on August 13th, 1928 is a very large advertisement announces: "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - Mt. Juneau Klan No. 2 Presents - Rev. J. Murray Hanna in a Lecture Series at the A. B. Hall, Juneau." The notice states that the lectures would commence each evening at 7:45 p.m. and would run from August 14 through August 29. The listed topics are consistent with those commonly found in contemporary Klan literature and public lectures: "Rome's Challenge to America," anxieties regarding the "decline" of the white race, who the new anti-christ of the month is, appeals for Klan membership, and commentary on ongoing political developments in the United States. The first night on the 14th, is the "Rome's Challenge to America" which falls in line with the harassment of the Catholic community at Starr Hill that same night[575]. His final lecture on the 29th, "Unmasking of the Ku Klux Klan: An Expose of the Invisible Empire." Is most likely about Emperor of the Invisible Empire, William Joseph Simmons' book of the same title.

According to the advertisement, all lectures were free and open to the public, and each was said to address "a theme of vital importance to the citizens and voters of the United States of America." The explicit emphasis on "voters" is particularly noteworthy. Unfortunately, it remains difficult to assess the extent to which these lectures influenced the Juneau community, even if passively, or to determine who attended them. The involvement of other fraternal organizations again warrants scrutiny, given that the Arctic Brotherhood Hall hosted the series. About a year later, Hanna was subsequently hosted at the Odd Fellows Hall[576], further suggesting the possibility of organizational overlap, or at least permissiveness, between these groups and the local Klan. Additionally, these Klan-sponsored advertisements are in the very newspaper that, only a few years earlier, had mocked the organization and attempted to dismiss its presence in the community.

[575] *Daily Alaska Empire*, "Rev. J. Murray Hanna" Advertisement, Juneau, Alaska, August 13, 1928
[576] *Daily Alaska Empire*, "TONIGHT!" Advertisement, Juneau, Alaska, April 9, 1929



Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

MT. JUNEAU KLAN NO. 2 PRESENTS

Rev. J. Murray Hanna

IN A

LECTURE SERIES

AT THE

A. B. HALL, JUNEAU

August 14th to 29th

Excepting Saturday Evenings Promptly at 7:45

Tuesday, Aug. 14.—Rome's Challenge to America.
Wednesday, Aug. 15.—America's Answer.
Thursday, Aug. 16.—The Papacy, The Horn That Talked.
Friday, Aug. 17.—Shall Rome's Plans for America Succeed?
Sunday, Aug. 19.—Rise and Fall of Rome's Political Power.
Monday, Aug. 20.—The Chicago Eucharistic Congress.
Tuesday, Aug. 21.—Al. Smith for President.
Wednesday, Aug. 22.—The Present Anti-Christ.
Thursday, Aug. 23.—Mexico's Awakening.
Friday, Aug. 24.—Is the White Race Slipping?
Sunday, Aug. 26.—The Spawn of the Serpent.
Monday, Aug. 27.—The State or the Pope.
Tuesday, Aug. 28.—United We Stick—Divided We're Stuck.
Wednesday, Aug. 29.—The Unmasking of the Ku Klux Klan: An Expose of the Invisible Empire.

Every lecture covers a theme of vital importance to the citizens and voters of the United States of America.

Attend Them All Free Will Offering Admission Free

ALL MEETINGS OPEN TO THE PUBLIC

KU KLUX KLAN

LECTURE SERIES

CLOSES

Wednesday Evening

August 29th

SUBJECTS

MONDAY EVENING—The State or the Pope.

TUESDAY EVENING — United We Stick Divided We're Stuck.

WEDNESDAY EVENING—The Unmasking of the Klan: An Expose of the Invisible Empire.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, AUGUST 29
In Person

THE FIRST KLANSMAN
THE FIRST KLANSWOMAN
THE GREATEST KLANSMAN
THE INVISIBLE EMPIRE

IF YOU HAVEN'T HEARD HANNA—
DON'T FAIL TO HEAR HIM NOW

There is another advertisement for him in the August 27th edition of the *Daily Alaska Empire* in Juneau announcing the final dates and lectures for the 27th through the 29th. Additional promotional taglines for the final evening's program included: *"The First Klansman," "The First Klanswoman," "The Greatest Klansman,"* and *"The Invisible Empire."* These phrases directly reference themes and terminology found in *Unmasking of the Ku Klux Klan: An Exposé of the Invisible Empire* as well as William Joseph Simmons's book of the same title, which served as the basis for that night's lecture.The final line at the bottom of the ad being, "IF YOU HAVEN'T HEARD HANNA - DON'T FAIL TO HEAR HIM NOW."[577] He additionally gives a special sermon that Sunday, August 25th, at the 11am service of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

While his advertisements are large, the discussion around him and his Ku Klux Klan lectures is definitely less reported on than they are back in Washington in state. On February 10th, 1927 under the

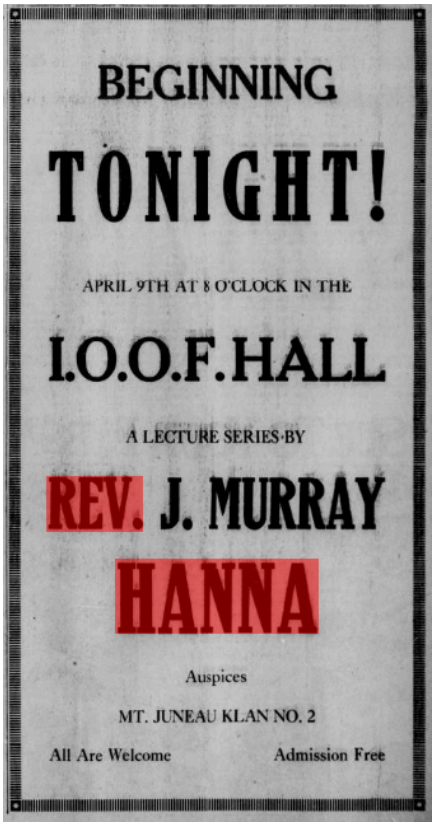
[577] *Daily Alaska Empire*, "Ku Klux Klan Lecture Series" Advertisement, Juneau, Alaska, August 27, 1928

title “Good Crowds Greet K. K. K. Lecturer” we actually get details about the talks given saying that “an instructive lecture on the Mexican question was delivered”[578] amongst others, how enthusiastic the crowd is, and a bit more about his protestant roots and rights. Then just a month or so after he leaves Alaska the Olympian reports that his talks there drew about fifty persons and have more details on the actual lectures given; sharing quotes from Hanna such as, “There are more Italians in New York city than in Rome; more Jews than Jerusalem.”[579] Another one of his lecture series in Washington state featured six reasons why Al Smith should not be the democratic nominee for President in 1928[580]. Highlighted reasons being Smith is Catholic, “Wet”, and upheld Tammany Hall.

April 9th, 1929 there is a new advertisement of a new lecture series with Rev. J. Murray Hanna at the Odd Fellows Hall back in Juneau, Alaska. This time the advertisement is more simple and doesn’t give a ton of details like the year previous. The only reason that we even know this is a Klan affiliated lecture is that it is under the “Auspices of Mt. Juneau Klan No. 2”. Once again all are welcome and admission is free. Looking further into that day's paper we do get the additional small article titled, “Klan Lecturer is Billed for Talks.” The article largely reiterates information from the previous year regarding Hanna’s background and the sponsorship by the Mt. Juneau Klan. It adds, however, that,

“This is the second series of lectures he has delivered here, the first being last August. Since that time Re. Hannah has been in the Yukon Territory.” (a detail that raises questions about whether he participated in the Powell Canadian activities.) “returning here recently to visit his mother, Mrs. Thomas White, was was at that time just recovering from an attack of influenza.”[581]

[578] *Everett Daily Herald*, “Good Crowds Greet K. K. K. Lecturer” Juneau, Alaska, February 10, 1927
[579] *The Daily Olympian*, “First of Klan Talks is Given”, Olympia, Washington, October 12, 1928
[580] *The Chehalis Bee-Nugget*, “Lectures Stop Temporarily”, Chehalis, Washington, October 12, 1928
[581] *Daily Alaska Empire*, “Klan Lecturer is Billed” Juneau, Alaska, April 9, 1929



It is later noted that Hanna was scheduled to speak at the Congregational Church on Sunday of the same week as his lecture series, with the announcement stating that "Rev. J. Murray Hanna of Juneau will occupy the pulpit."[582] Two points emerge from this mention: first, he is once again presented as a local figure, rather than an outsider; second, this is the very same church attended by many families associated with the Klan Charter on Douglas Island. Following these appearances, Hanna largely disappears from the newspaper record until the 1940s and already then there begins some revisionist history; sweeping his Klan affiliations under the rug.

The first instance is relatively innocuous, noting only that Hanna and his wife visited Juneau in August 1946, with brief mention of his prior work at Treadwell and his status as a Reverend[583].

In August 1948, however, the *Alaskan Daily Empire*'s "Twenty Years Ago" column references him explicitly: "The Rev. J. Murray Hanna of Bellingham, Wash., lecturer for the Ku Klux Klan, arrived in Juneau on the *Northwestern* and was to appear at the A.B. Hall for 14 nights, under the auspices of Mt. Juneau Klan No. 2."[584] Yet, by the following year, the same column reports: "The Rev. J. Murray Hanna of Juneau was to preach in the Douglas Congregational Church."[585] While he did indeed preach at the

[582] *Daily Alaska Empire*, "Rev. Hanna To Speak Sunday" Juneau, Alaska, April 13, 1929
[583] *Daily Alaska Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, August 21, 1946
[584] *Daily Alaska Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, August 21, 1946
[585] *Daily Alaska Empire*, Juneau, Alaska, April 13, 1949

church, this account omits any mention of the concurrent Klan lectures he delivered at the Odd Fellows Hall, illustrating a clear example of historical revisionism in later press, effectively minimizing or omitting his Klan affiliations. Meanwhile the papers in Washington do not forget; putting in their 25 Years Ago section of a paper from 1953 about an incident from 1928, "A caravan of 100 to 150 members of the Ku Klux Klan from Lewis County will come to Longview Saturday night, under highway patrol escort to meet with Longview and Cowlitz County Klansmen here, it was announced today by the Rev. J. Murray Hanna of Bellingham, who has been working in the past weeks in the interest of the organization."[586]

1927 - Ownership and Management of the Fellowship Forum

"In accordance with requirements of an Act of Congress, The Fellowship Forum is herewith publishing the periodical states of its ownership and management. It will be of interest to members of the great family of readers of The Fellowship Forum to note how widely distributed is the stock of the Independent Publishing Company, publishers of the 'Forum,' stock being held by hundreds of patriotic Protestant Americans, most of them fraternalists, scattered over the entire country."[587] Is a statement included in *The Fellowship Forum* on October 8th, 1927. Included with this is a very extensive list of those who additional owners of the paper. Hundreds of names are included, a few direct chapters named, alongside their town of residence. On this one list, with a careful eye you can spot two Alaskans independent from one another.

There in the sea of names is "John C. Jacobson" of Fairbanks Alaska and "John Sundbach" of Nome.[588] Sundbach is actually a slightly different spelling of "Sunback" one can find both spellings of the name referenced to the same individual, primarily he seems to shift to "Sunback" in the Alaskan papers sometime after 1917. A surface web search for his name in Alaska immediately brings up an entry for him on the 100 Years of the Alaska Legislature entries from the 2013 project on *From Territorial Days to Today*[589] … so immediately I know this person was at one point a part of the Alaskan Territorial Legislature. An excerpt from *History of Minnehaha County* (South Dakota), published in 1899 says that he was born in Sweden and originally came to the United States in 1868. Before coming to Alaska he was well known in his community in South Dakota. Notably he was a sheriff in Sioux Falls and a Republican; switching from a "straightout" Republican to being a "Silver Republican" in 1896. This same article states, "He is a member of the Odd Fellows and Knights of Pythias, and has taken nearly all degrees in

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[586] *The Longview Daily News*, "25 Years Ago (December 7, 1928)" Longview, Washington, December 7, 1953
[587] "Ownership and Management of the Fellowship Forum" *The Fellowship Forum*, October 8, 1927
[588] *The Fellowship Forum*, October 8, 1927
[589] *100 Years of Alaska's Legislature*, "John Sundback," Alaska State Legislature, 2013, https://akleg.gov/100years/bio.php?id=1489

Masonry, is also one of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine."[590] He would move to Vancouver, B. C. in the summer of 1897 and eventually find his way to living in Alaska.

In Alaska, Sunback would be known as a Sourdough and Pioneer of Nome. According to his obituary in the *Kusko Times* (November 21, 1925) He was a member of the Alaska Territorial Senate in 1917-1919, and president of the Senate in 1923[591]. In another article from the *Nome Nugget* in January of 1925, where one can read about him suffering a fire at his home, the article says he is Clerk of the District Court there in Nome.[592]

Johan Martin Adolph Sørensen "John C. Jacobson" Jakobsen was born in Norway in 1865 and according to the 1920 US Census for Nenana, immigrated to the US in 1872. In details left on his "Find-A-Grave" page, someone collected the following information, "John was a Fairbanks pioneer and he was a plumber by trade. He worked for the Northern Commercial Company in the early days and more recently for the Alaska Railroad and Fairbanks Exploration Company. He was living in Nenana in 1922. He was about 60 years old and a member of the Tanana Lodge No. 162 F & A M. John was also a member of the Pioneers of Alaska, Igloo #4 and he was inducted in November of 1912, Roll #686."[593] He is buried at the Clay Street cemetery in Fairbanks, where he recently in 2023, through 2023 City Bed Tax funds, got an updated headstone. The headstone bears the Pioneers of Alaska logo.

Sunback died after amputation of his leg, that was frostbitten during the events of the fire at his home, in November of 1925. Jacobson died in October of 1929 when his automobile went off the end of Cowles street and into the Chena river, he drowned inside the vehicle before it was pulled out of the river that night. Jacobson was still very much alive when this ownership article came out in 1927, it's unclear how the Fellowship Forum handled posthumously backing, as Sunback would have been dead for two years when this article came out.

1932 - Letters Pouring In

The latest entry we have on anything about second wave Klannish activity connecting Alaska comes from 1932. In the Massachusetts section of the May 1932 edition is a section about messages of encouragement pouring into *The Kourier* from all corners of the Invisible Empire. "Alaska contributed its share by sending along a letter so full of interest to Massachusetts Klansmen that it should be printed in

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[590] Dana Reed Bailey, *History of Minnehaha County, South Dakota: Containing an Account of Its Settlements, Growth, Development and Resources ... Synopsis of Public Records, Biographical Sketches* (Sioux Falls: Brown & Saenger, 1899), https://archive.org/details/historyofminneha01bail/page/n11/mode/2up

[591] *Kusko Times*, McGrath, Alaska, November 21, 1925

[592] *Nome Nugget*, Nome, Alaska, January 17, 1925

[593] "Johan Martin Adolph Sørensen Jakobsen," *Find a Grave*, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/88654199/johan-martin_adolph_s%C3%B8rensen-jakobsen

the Kourier Magazine for the benefit of the Klansmen in other Realms."[594] This brief entry concludes with, "Thanks a lot, Juneau, Alaska!" So not only are remnants of the Klan post 1920s still kicking around that state officially, but they are right here in our capital of Juneau, still by 1932.

Previous Literature on Klan Activity in Alaska - A Lack of Combined Sources

As touched on in earlier sections, particularly the discussion of Luther Powell, dedicated scholarship on Ku Klux Klan activity in Alaska appears to be virtually nonexistent. References to the Klan's presence in the state are typically limited to brief mentions or footnotes, often reduced to statements such as "Luther Powell came to Alaska." The most substantial treatment of the subject, aside from this paper and potential subsequent studies, is Mac Metcalfe's 2009 article in the Juneau Empire.

In summary, a review of the available literature, including court cases, major articles, dissertations, and books, reveals a very limited pool of substantial sources addressing Klan activity in Alaska. (This review excludes numerous shorter articles published in various newspapers.)

David M. Chalmers' third edition o*f Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* references Alaska only once. In the chapter titled From Canada to the Rio Grande (p. 322), Chalmers notes:

"In a sense this performance was typical of the Invisible Empire in Washington. The Klan was there, but it was not greatly active. It did not go in for night-riding or do much for local charities or politics. It occasionally saw its members elected to local office, such as mayor of the little hops and lettuce town of Kent, south of Seattle, and it praised Congress Albert Johnson as 'a clean, loyal American' for helping push through an immigration restriction bill. It held occasional big public rallies. It went through the usual debilitating internal schisms over fees, salaries, financial accounting, national versus local decision making, and the backwash of the fight between Simmons and Evans for control in Atlanta. Luther Powell, being more of a frontiersman than a settler, moved on to prospect for Klan gold in Alaska. The Klan continued its existence into the 1930s, but it was not a major force in Washington."[595]

While Chalmers' work is a thorough and insightful examination of Klan activity across the United States, its treatment of Alaska is minimal and provides limited context for understanding the Klan's presence in the territory.

Similarly, Linda Gordon's *The Second Coming of the KKK: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and the American Political Tradition* offers an extensive exploration of the Klan's structure, ideology, and influence in the United States. Alaska, however, is again mentioned only briefly. In Chapter 7, KKK Feminism (p. 79), she notes: "Moreover, women had won at least partial suffrage in 27 states and the

[594] "Letters Pouring In" *The Kourier*, May, 1932, 43

[595] David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan*, 3rd ed. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987), 322

Alaska Territory prior to the national amendment, and these states included those where the Klan was strong, such as Indiana, Iowa, Nebraska, and Oregon."[596]

Gordon's analysis provides valuable insight into the broader cultural and political landscape of the 1920s, highlighting how women's expanding political participation both empowered and threatened the Klan. She explains that these social changes generated conservative backlash, which the Klan sought to exploit: "Together these cultural developments transformed social life and, of course, created a backlash. Conservatives rallied at the decline of morals, and by this they mainly meant women's morals. Walter Lippmann's phrase 'the acids of modernity' captured Klannish fears that the very ground of Protestant morality was being eroded."[597] Evidence suggests that some of these Jazz Age anxieties did reach Juneau, where the socially active wives of Juneau-Douglas Klan members were likely influenced by their husbands' affiliations, which in turn shaped the dynamics and perspectives within their own women's circles.

It is extremely difficult to find books that explicitly discuss the Ku Klux Klan in Alaska, only the two works cited above appear. Otherwise, online search engines largely yield materials that *may* contain incidental mentions of Alaska in the context of the Klan's Western expansion. Unfortunately, aside from Chalmers and Gordon, these sources have proven unhelpful, often actually lacking even brief references to Alaska as suggested they would contain.

Other bodies of work with mentions are court cases. For our scope of Alaska focus, there is a court case in 1926 between the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan vs Independent Klan of America.[598] This case was handled by the district court of Indiana, Indianapolis Division. In summary the case is that the plaintiff, The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, widely known as "The Klan," sought to stop the defendant from using similar names and terminology, arguing that the defendant's imitation of its name, structure, and practices constituted unfair competition and caused public confusion. The defendant contended it was legally incorporated in Indiana, that the term "Klan" was generic and not exclusively owned by the plaintiff, and that the plaintiff had waited too long to object and should therefore have been barred from seeking relief. It also argued that its principles differed from the plaintiff's and that it had not attempted to mislead the public. Evidence showed that the defendant had been formed largely by former members of a local plaintiff chapter, had adopted similar titles and rituals, and had even characterized itself as a continuation

[596] Linda Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and the American Political Tradition* (New York: Liveright, 2017), 79.
[597] Gordon, *Second Coming of the KKK*
[598] Knights of the Ku Klux Klan v. Independent Klan of America, 11 F.2d 881 (C.Z. 1926) https://case-law.vlex.com/vid/knights-of-the-ku-887189009

of “Klankraft,” supporting the plaintiff’s claim that the defendant had traded on its identity.[599] In many ways, it boiled down to a fair use dispute.

Mentioned directly in this is their claim that the Klan does have Klans in Alaska; with the line being, "Plaintiff was organized as a corporation under the laws of the state of Georgia in 1916, and gradually extended its operations through the South, and in 1922 was operating in 48 different states, the Canal Zone, and the territory of Alaska.”[600] This mention of Alaska is curious because it refers to 1922, raising the question of whether it reflects the recruitment efforts that Odom and Cunningham were conducting at that time, or if it truly indicates an actual Klan being established in Alaska prior to Luther Powell’s 1925 excursion. Given that this is not the first reference to a Klan in Alaska before 1925, it seems plausible that at least one chapter was already established. Based on numerical precedence, this may have been the Mt. McKinley Klan, which is No.1. However, without access to their charter or other corroborating evidence, any conclusions remain speculative.

There is also a need to go over Klan documents of all sorts from all states with a fine toothed comb for mentions and connections to Alaska. As demonstrated elsewhere in this study, this work can be tedious and may yield results only sporadically; nevertheless, it often produces valuable findings. One example of a direct reference to Alaska in Klan literature appears in *The Klan Unmasked* by William Joseph Simmons. Simmons, recognized as the founder of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and self-declared Emperor of the Invisible Empire, published this work in 1923, when claiming that White America is becoming a vanishing people he goes on to write, “But we have come to sound a warning throughout the length and breadth of the land—a warning which everyone of our own people from Newfoundland to California and from Florida to Alaska must hear and heed. We are perishing as a people and the land of our fathers shall presently know us no more. Emerson once said, "What you do speaks so loud I can not hear what you say."[601] Let me here change the words but not the meaning. The facts cry out so loud that we can not hear the vain and wordy opinions of the theorists and the sentimentalists. The prattle of these sentimentalists, be it ever so noisy, can not prevent us from both seeing and hearing the real drama. We are witnessing the greatest tragedy of the ages.”

Although such sweeping references to Alaska may at first appear to be mere rhetorical devices, typical of the Klan’s often hyperbolic style and its reputation as an unreliable narrator; researchers should be cautious about dismissing them too quickly. Our own findings suggest that even brief or seemingly symbolic mentions can point toward real connections that deserve further investigation. By assuming that

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[599] *Knights of the Ku Klux Klan v. Indep. Klan of Am.,* 11 F.2d 881 (C.Z. 1926), https://case-law.vlex.com/vid/knights-of-the-ku-887189009

[600] *Knights of the Ku Klux Klan v. Indep. Klan of Am.,* 11 F.2d 881 (C.Z. 1926), https://case-law.vlex.com/vid/knights-of-the-ku-887189009

[601] William Joseph Simmons, *The Klan Unmasked* (Atlanta, GA: W. E. Thompson Publishing Co., 1924).

references to Alaska are simply grandiose or incidental, researchers may have inadvertently overlooked important clues. These small mentions could help reveal a wider, and previously underexamined historical relationship between the Klan and the region.

Originally submitted as a thesis to the University of Exeter in 2014, Miguel Hernandez's *Fighting Fraternities: The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry* was later published in book form in 2020. This work provides researchers and readers with one of the most comprehensive examinations of the intersections between the Klan and Freemasonry. As noted earlier in reference to C. J. Woofter, our initial lead in that research came from Hernandez's work.

On page 98 of his 2014 thesis, Hernandez discusses the connections and popularity of *The Forum*, a Klan-aligned publication.[602] Lowell Richey, a Masonic supporter from Albany, Indiana, described it as "a real paper for Protestants, Americans, Masons, and Klansmen, but a poor paper for the Pope, Bolsheviks, reds, and such people as are against our great America." Regarding its circulation, Hernandez notes, "Perhaps the best indication of the widespread circulation of the *Forum* is their correspondence column, which received letters from all over the country, including one from the remote settlement of Nome, deep in the Alaskan west."[603] Again this would be C. J. Woofter's claim in 1924 that every Alaskan mason should be getting *The Forum*.[604]

Additional suggested works, when reviewed, unfortunately did not yield relevant information regarding the Klan in Alaska. One was *Racism's Frontier: The Untold Story of Discrimination and Division in Alaska*, produced by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Alaska Advisory Committee.[605] While this study is valuable and will be cited in future publications for its broader analysis of discrimination and social dynamics in Alaska, it contains no references to the Ku Klux Klan in the territory. This gap reflects a recurring challenge in the historical record: in contexts where it might have been relevant to note that semi-functioning Klan bodies existed in Alaska during the 1920s, a period marked by significant racial tensions, including disputes over Native rights and voting, such mentions are largely absent.

Black History in the Last Frontier by Ian C. Hartman[606] seemed like another good book to reference for exploration on the topic; as while most of our research as come to the conclusion that the Ku Klux Klan's of Southeast and Coastal Alaska were focused on disenfranchisement and squashing the upward mobility of Indigenous peoples in Alaska this does not fully replace or remove the context we typically associate

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[602] Hernandez, Miguel, fl 2014. "Fighting Fraternities: The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920's America." *Fighting Fraternities: The Ku Klux Klan and Freemasonry in 1920's America*, 2014.
[603] Hernandez, *Fighting Fraternities*, 2014.
[604] C. J. Woofter, "Alaska Mason Must Have the Forum," *Fellowship Forum*, 1924
[605] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Alaska Advisory Committee, *Racism's Frontier: The Untold Story of Discrimination and Division in Alaska* (Washington, DC: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, April 2002), https://www.usccr.gov/files/pubs/sac/ak0402/main.htm
[606] Ian C. Hartman, *Black History in the Last Frontier* (Anchorage: National Park Service and University of Alaska Anchorage, 2020)

with the Klan nor minimizes the real harm done to the Black people of America, and those living in Alaska at the time were likely acutely aware of this threat. In *Black History in the Last Frontier* the Ku Klux Klan does come up in reference to the 1987 city ballot. After a strong initial vote to name the performing arts center after Martin Luther King Jr., the decision sparked renewed racial tension in Anchorage. Conservative residents, led by former assemblyman Don Smith, organized over 500 supporters to oppose the name, arguing it favored the Black community and was unrepresentative of the city. They gathered over 11,000 petition signatures, double the required amount, forcing the assembly to remove King's name pending a citywide referendum. Smith suggested that the Fairview community center, in a historically Black neighborhood, would be a more appropriate tribute, claiming King did not deserve citywide recognition. In October 1987, voters rejected naming the arts center after King by a 3-to-1 margin. The debate grew heated, with one assembly member remarking that he had heard the slur "nigger" more in three weeks than in the previous 25 years of his life.[607]

Hartman in the book goes on to say,

"One month after the referendum, the Ku Klux Klan, emboldened by the city's decision to reject King's name, opened a recruiting office in town. This was the second time in the decade that the hate group attempted to set up shop in Alaska. David Duke, a former Louisiana politician and a Grand Wizard of the Klan, viewed Alaska as a potential recruiting ground. Duke claimed that white Alaskans would be receptive to his ideas since 'you have a lot of Native interest groups up there and a lot of whites have a growing seed of concern because of the favoritism that's being shown [to] some of these Indian and Eskimo organizations.' Duke proposed an Alaska chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP) to 'preserve the white race and white heritage;' otherwise Duke feared, 'we're going to resemble a Third World country instead of the United States that we used to have.' While Duke's effort to establish a NAAWP in Alaska failed, the controversy over the naming of the performing arts center further disturbed the racial fault lines that have characterized Alaska throughout much of its history."[608]

While this piece is outside our scope of the 1920s, again this book is a wonderful resource and has many stories many may have never heard of or considered. There are good portions of the book that touch on the Black population in the 1920s, while dispersed, many made their names and fortunes here just like their white counterparts. However, for the purposes of our paper, there are no recorded encounters with

[607] Hartman, *Black History in the Last Frontier*.
[608] Hartman, *Black History in the Last Frontier*.

the KKK in Alaska during that period. Similarly, The Birth of a Nation and the 1918 petition by "the Coloured People of Juneau" are not mentioned in the text.

*Family After All: Alaska's Jesse Lee Home i*s a two volume series by Raymond L. Hudson and Jacquelin Pels that goes over the story of the Jesse Lee Home from its beginnings in the Aleutian Islands, where 19th-century missionaries established it amid cultural conflict, to its development into a respected community serving mainly Native Alaskan children. Volume I documents the Home's first thirty-five challenging but ultimately hopeful years in Unalaska. Volume II begins with the institution's relocation to Seward in 1925 and examines the period from 1925 to 1965.[609] Mentioned in Dr. Michael Livingston's presentation about Benny Benson, he himself was directed to the series because it contains a reference to the Ku Klux Klan.

The book itself is getting harder to come by and no digital or e-editions exist online. The copy I ended up physically combing through came from the Cyril George Collection at the University of Alaska Southeast Library; specifically volume II.

Although the reference to the Klan is not indexed, it appears on page 723 in Appendix 3, titled "On the Trail of the KKK."[610] This appendix reproduces two articles from the *Seward Daily Gateway*: one from August 5, 1925, discussing the arrival of Luther Powell, and another describing a cross-burning in February 1927. Following these articles, Pels notes, "There the local Klan trail seems to end, except for an undated 'Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Questions and Answers' handbill over the name 'Major L. R. Powell, Imperial Representative, Seward, Alaska.'" Pels goes on to discuss the same harmful rhetoric, as we did, when looking at Powell's adventures in Alaska. Pels goes on to say, "There's no indication of how Alaska Natives whose lives had been turned upside-down by 'immigration' but who were considered by many of those later arrivals to be 'unassimilative' -fit into the Klan scheme of things."

This appendix constitutes the earliest and most direct published example currently known of documented Klan activity in Alaska.[611] Its marginal placement suggests that even the compiler was uncertain about the extent of available evidence and presented only the materials at hand. Nevertheless, the appendix contributes meaningfully to the larger historical picture of racial tensions in Seward during this period and has evidently encouraged subsequent researchers to pursue the topic further.

Alongside other pertinent information to this topic, such as on page 28;

"Another difference at Seward was the absence of a strong Russian Orthodox presence. Seward had Roman Catholic and Episcopal Churches from the earliest years, but it was not 'priest-ridden' community that the Methodists saw in Unalaska, resisting their well meant but not always well-expressed

[609] Pels, *Family After All*, 2000.
[610] Pels, *Family After All*, 2000.
[611] Pels, *Family After All*, 2000.

proselytizing. Thanks to what Ray Hudson in Volume I calls the 'Joseph coat' division of Alaska into Protestant camps, Seward was already a Methodist town."[612]

While not explicit, details like this are meaningful to the context of this research; as again if the Klan was not supposed to be out in the open, yet we know the religions and groups they were more likely to be affiliated with additional patterns can be drawn for further probing research. Volume 1 & 2 of these books also touch on the racial and sometimes, religious, disparity placed on children at the Jesse Lee home from those in Seward. Between stories of growing up, and some positive experiences, is also tales of the town of Seward, such as one student having another student write in their yearbook "Roses are red, violets are blue, I still like you even if you're a jew."[613] and other vignettes of blatant prejudice against those who weren't white and protestant.

In 2022 Ian C. Hartman and Anchorage Historian, David Reamer, would publish *Black Lives in Alaska: A History of African Americans in the Far Northwest*.[614] This book came out seemingly alongside the exhibit at the Anchorage Museum *Black Lives in Alaska: Journey, Justice, Joy*, during the time I was actually working at the museum. Anecdotally I will share, the only recollection I had about any conversation regarding the KKK was in reference to in the 1960s; I was told by a patron that that was the first official time the Ku Klux Klan had opened up recruitment in Alaska there in Anchorage. This account may, however, be conflated with later incidents in 1987 or with the similarly functioning "White Citizen's Council," active in Anchorage starting in the late 1960s.[615]

In *Black Lives in Alaska: A History of African Americans in the Far Northwest* Hartman and Reamer do discuss the banning of D. W. Griffith's Birth of Nation, sharing, as we have, that Emery Valentine, mayor of Juneau as well as the then Territorial Governor, Thomas Riggs, had banned the film after receiving a petition. This ban would not last and the film would be shown regardless in the Juneau area, moreover already having an extensive run in greater Alaska. As Hartman and Reamer put it, "However, two months later, perhaps after the protest had lost its strength, the film was again advertised at the same Juneau theater."[616] without the additional details we've shared here in this paper, and recently shared with Reamer in conversation. They too reference the *Fellowship* article we've been trying to get a hold of, but from Reamer and Hartman's pull being quotes identical to the *Call of the North* article from 1923 the Fellowship article in this instance is probably a repost or the origin of that article that appeared in the Minnesota papers.

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[612] Pels, *Family After All*, 2000.
[613] Pels, *Family After All*, 2000.
[614] Ian C. Hartman and David Reamer, *Black Lives in Alaska: A History of African Americans in the Far Northwest* (Anchorage: University of Alaska Press, 2022).
[615] Hartman, *Black History in the Last Frontier*.
[616] Hartman and Reamer, *Black Lives in Alaska*, 2022.

On page 55 of this book the authors go on to say, "That the KKK established a base of power or curried exceptional political influence in Juneau, or other Alaskan towns remains unconfirmed. However, one of the Klan's periodicals, the *Kourier Magazine*, based out of Atlanta, Georgia, claimed that eleven 'charters' existed throughout the territory as late as 1931, some well north of Juneau."[617] Which through other resources and connections we've made over the last several months in our own research seemingly can be confirmed to an extent now, or that at least concerted effort was made by some Juneau Klan individuals to hold power and political influence. Curious though about that in their research they read that *Kourier* listed 11 Klans in Alaska, the VCU Mapping the Second Wave of the Klan project map has 10 Klaverns; Wrangell numerically being last as No.10[618]. They follow the part with eleven charters up with that, "The Klan sponsored at least one minstrel show in Kennecott, the copper mining settlement in Alaska's Wrangell Mountains. Fifteen performers donned blackface in a 1921 performance that was widely promoted; the KKK retained a presence in the small community during the early years of that decade." This being of course the "Kennecott Krazy Koons"[619] show as brought up earlier in this paper; the official closest Klan is the one in Cordova, listed as Klavern no. 4 by 1931. Hartman and Reamer begin to wind this section down with, "Nativism, racial hostility, anti-immigrant sentiments, and a suppression of political dissent defined the years surrounding the First World War nationwide. So, too, did such a culture of white supremacy find expression in Alaska's capital as well as the small mining camps and settlements that dotted the expansive territory." Which as we've seen and researched, they've nailed it on the head there.

On page 170, "The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) sought to expand in Alaska during the 1960s and 1970s, and rumors existed of a Klan presence in the territory during the 1920s. Imperial wizard Robert Shelton promised, 'As soon as we can get to Alaska and Hawaii, we're going there.'" As we now know, that was not mere rumor in the 1920s and as already discussed when speaking about Hartman's previous book; tensions in Anchorage would continue to flare into the 1980s. Both of these books really are worth having on the shelf though, as we continue to tell the multitude of stories and in recent years peel back Alaska history to reveal the good, the bad, the ugly, and less openly discussed sections of Alaskan History that need to be told.

Ian C. Hartman and Anchorage Historian, David Reamer's *Black Lives in Alaska: A History of African Americans in the Far Northwest* has come the closest in exploration on Literature about the KKK in Alaska; while still lacking some details this is most likely due to the same issues we've run into while doing our own research.

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[617] Hartman and Reamer, *Black Lives in Alaska*, 2022.
[618] Kneebone et al., *Mapping the Second Ku Klux Klan*.
[619] "*Kennecott – The Kennecott Story,"* NPS

Researching the Ku Klux Klan in Alaska presents significant challenges; We're all up against the already established rhetoric of the Klan, beginning with the organization's longstanding emphasis on secrecy and the decentralization of its materials. Primary and secondary sources, ranging from newspapers to books, vary widely in quality, accessibility, and format. Most of the materials referenced in this section require either direct purchase or subscription-based access, and they are distributed across multiple online platforms. There are also materials only available in person, like microfiche of Southeast papers that can only be accessed by physically coming to the State Museum in Juneau. Also the scope of existing scholarship on the Klan is also highly uneven: some projects do not address Alaska, leading researchers to overlook the northward expansion of figures such as Luther Powell; chronological coverage varies as well, meaning that materials foundational to understanding later events in Juneau and elsewhere in Alaska may not be recognized as such by all scholars. Even in the current era of OCR and word searches/terms of Digital Newspaper Databases being more available at our fingertips; getting these programmes to *consistently* work for searches can be an uphill battle on its own. As we experienced first hand, even sometimes using the same key words, but on different days of the week and times could yield slightly different results from one another, especially across various platforms. What we've personally collected seems exhaustive but, we know there probably is more out there. On and offline and there is room for more experimentation of terms and types of searches.

Despite these challenges, each contribution to the field represents a piece of a larger historical puzzle. This paper seeks to synthesize these disparate sources, and it is our hope that both this work and ongoing discussions among Alaska-based researchers will bring additional materials to light. By doing so, future scholarship can continue to deepen understanding of the Klan's presence and influence in Alaska, while also inspiring further research on this understudied and sometimes avoided topic.

Summary & General Discussion

As noted earlier, this research has shown how the events and individuals of Alaska are deeply interconnected, often in ways that are both fascinating and, at times, uncomfortable or troubling. In the course of this work, we have followed several lines of inquiry. While the primary focus of this paper is a general narrative and review of what is known about the Ku Klux Klan in Alaska, other papers, already written or in progress, explore additional aspects of Juneau-Douglas history. Alaska's history is deeply complex, intertwined with issues of race, politics, power, and displacement. But in trying to make sense of it all, we found ourselves pulling on a loose thread; And unfortunately, or perhaps inevitably, that thread was attached to a white hood.

The topic of the Klan in Juneau is one that as Mac Metcalfe wrote in 2009, "As far as I know the Klan's presence in Juneau has always remained in the back alleys of Juneau's collective memory." And while our evidence here is extensive, we still know there is more to the story. Many questions remain; where is the photo of the group referenced in Metcalfe's article? Why have other researchers been pointed in different directions than the trails we followed? Where is the Klan ephemera? Why aren't there any photos of any of the Cross Burnings in Alaska, especially the ones in the Juneau area? And an important question to us for further research, *when exactly* was the first cross burning on the Channel on Douglas?

Upcoming in other reports and research projects is discussion that it's undeniable that certain people benefited greatly from the destruction of the initial Douglas Indian Village fire of 1926; that several of those individuals who directly benefitted were white, Protestant, and several had ties to the Ku Klux Klan as touched on in this paper's individual reviews of the Mount Juneau Klan no. 2 Charter members.

One instance is pursuing why an odd narrative has persisted well into the 1960s. It was commonly claimed that few Natives were directly affected, that their homes were substandard anyway, and that the blaze cleared the way for "progress" and "development." But the truth is that over 100 Native residents were displaced that morning in 1926, setting off a cascade of sovereignty issues that would unfold for decades and eventually run *right into* the 1962 destruction by the City of Douglas of what remained of the village then. Even in the immediate aftermath of the 1926 fire, plans were already in motion to relocate Native residents and begin construction of something else in their place.

To make matters worse, several individuals involved in Douglas's government and the town's "restoration" efforts were, as previously stated, Klan members. It's difficult to assess just how much organizations like the Alaska Native Brotherhood, or figures like William Paul, knew about these affiliations, or how much power they had to prevent what happened. When looking into issues surrounding the Native Vote at that time, terminology Paul used such as, "Lily Whites" while going up against a billed "White Man's Party" Ticket in 1925/26 gives the feeling that he knew to some extent; while paired with that the 1926 fire also had major political implications. It effectively eliminated a large block of potential Native voters. Again, I bring up that Judge James Wickersham noted this in his diary on October 11–12th: "Big fire at Treadwell destroyed the Indian town & many of them will move away – & thus Sutherland will lose many votes! <u>May be</u>."

We aim to pursue this story and others related in that we wish to tell the larger complex story we see; and I hope through this paper and further research more information, documents, and images will re-surface and be added to the conversation.

If this paper is how you discovered that someone in your family, or a beloved Alaska community of the past, was involved with the Ku Klux Klan, the lack of prior knowledge is *not*

your fault. What matters now is how you choose to understand, interpret, and respond to this information. History asks us to be uncomfortable sometimes, and to paraphrase from the *BellingHistory with the Good Time Girls* "The Worst Bad Town: The Klan"; You have the current opportunity to choose to be better than those of our past.

Juneau's history is not a collection of isolated events, it is a woven tapestry of resilience, injustice, celebration, highlights and erasure. These stories are not simple footnotes; they are the fabric of this place. When such histories are forgotten or buried, one must ask: is it the result of accidental selective memory, or deliberate erasure? Is it easier to forget because remembering would require confronting the uncomfortable truths? And, crucially, who decides which histories are preserved and which are left behind?

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